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Daily Report
Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-95-235 *7 December 1995*

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Key Developments

FBIS Duma Election Report 5 Dec

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[FBIS Media Note]

Recent Developments

Satarov Hints at Possible Post-Election Strategy In an interview broadcast on independent NTV's "Versions" program (4 December), presidential aide Georgiy Satarov indicated that the Kremlin will seek to build an alliance with a significant number of deputies elected in single-seat districts to offset expected gains by parties opposed to Yeltsin in party list voting. Asked to "confirm predictions" that the Kremlin will "start working with" approximately 100 single-seat winners from "various factions" to "form a powerful pro-Kremlin lobby," Satarov responded that such "tactics" are "perfectly normal and have to be done."

Satarov said he "anticipates" that "about 50 percent or more" of the voters will come to the polls on 17 December and "expects" that "no more than 5 parties will get past the 5 percent barrier, accounting for only about 40 percent of the total votes." Asserting that the Communist Party of the Russian Federation (CPRF) has a "realistic chance" of winning "about 30" single-seat races, he claimed that Russia Is Our Home (NDR), Ivan Rybkin's Bloc, and Russia's Democratic Choice-United Democrats also have "good chances" in the single-seat races. Satarov added, however, that he "expects" that there will be "no clear leaders among the parties" in the 225 single-seat races.

Explosion Rocks Duma Deputy's Office ITAR-TASS (5 December) reported that an explosion, possibly from a detonated hand grenade, occured late in the afternoon in ultra-nationalist National-Republican Party of Russia leader Nikolay Lysenko's 7th-floor office in the Duma building. Lysenko left the building only 10 minutes before the explosion, which reportedly "blew out a window and damaged furniture." He told reporters that the attack was "an attempted revenge" for his "repeated" calls to "crush the mafia coming from the Caucasus and Central Asia."

In the Provinces

Perm Oblast Leaders Back Gaydar's, Chernomyrdin's Parties SEGODNYA (1 December) reported that a group of "15 politically active" leaders in Perm Oblast, including oblast Duma chairman Yevgeniy Sapiro, have signed an "appeal" urging "all supporters of reform" in the oblast to vote for either Russia's Democratic Choice-United Democrats or NDR. Sapiro told the SEGODNYA correspondent that it was former Acting Premier Yegor Gaydar "who had enough courage to stop talking about economic reform and get down to business" and that Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin, "after long pauses and wavering, proceeded with the thankless task of financial stabilization." While oblast head of administration Boris Kuznetsov was not mentioned as one of the appeal's signatories, he is reported to be one of NDR's most active supporters (KOMMERSANT-DAILY, 24 November) and is the number one candidate on the bloc's Perm Oblast regional list (ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, 31 October).

Yabloko Leads the Pack in St. Petersburg Poll According to a 4 December Radio Ekho Moskvy report, polling conducted by St. Petersburg's Sociological Scientific-Research Center (SNITs) in November and published in a recent issue of the St. Petersburg newspaper SMENA indicates that Grigoriy Yavlinskiy's Yabloko party currently leads among the city's potential voters. The following table indicates party preferences (1 percent and above) expressed by those polled (the number of respondents was not indicated by Ekho Moskvy but SNITs polls published in SMENA typically have a sample size of at least 1,000 respondents):

- Yabloko—19 percent
- CPRF—16 percent
- Russia's Democratic Choice-United Democrats—10 percent
- NDR—7 percent
- Congress of Russian Communities (KRO)—5 percent
- Forward, Russia!—5 percent
- Party of Workers' Self-Government—4 percent
- Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR)—2 percent
- Women of Russia—2 percent
- Derzhava—1 percent

According to the Ekho Moskvy report, the other 33 parties and blocs combined "appealed to just 4 percent of the public in St. Petersburg." The numbers reported indicate that 75 percent of respondents expressed a party preference, leaving by implication 25 percent undecided or indifferent. The report also noted that 57 percent of those polled indicated that they intend to vote and 19 percent "wanted to stay away" from the polls, leaving 24 percent apparently undecided about whether to vote or not.

The Media Beat

Zhirinovskiy Bumps Up His Rhetoric In a campaign spot aired by ORT on 4 December, LDPR leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy pulled no punches in his effort

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to strike a chord with potential voters as he did in the 1993 election campaign. Zhirinovskiy, shown speaking in the ORT studio alongside a statue of a falcon—the party's symbol—claimed that there are "really only two real parties, the LDPR and the Communists" and "the rest are all temporarily organized political groups who have been or are in power." He reserved special venom for bankers, Central Asians, and Caucasians:

- Calling "thousands" of commercial banks "all fraud, eyewash, and daylight robbery," he urged voters "not to give any of them your money," warning that "scoundrels will fleece you like Gaydar's government took the deposits in 1992." He accused bankers of "growing fat on your poverty," as a result of which "your daughters are [prostituting themselves] on the streets because you cannot buy them clothes."
- Expressing his particular brand of Russian national chauvinism, he claimed that "Central Asians lived in tents before the Russians came" and that there should be "no independent states" beyond the Caucasus mountain range. Zhirinovskiy said that "whoever does not lay down his arms" in the conflict-ridden Russian Caucasus region "must be destroyed" and "if a single Russian soldier is wounded or killed" in a village, "I will give the order to destroy that village...with napalm and fire, and there will be no war anywhere."

Zhirinovskiy also compared Yeltsin's health to that of former Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev in his last years, saying "Yeltsin today is Brezhnev at the end of 1992. He is a dummy. He is brought in and taken away."

Party Leaders Meet With Regional Media Representatives ITAR-TASS (5 December) reported that several party leaders will be meeting with more than 50 regional media representatives during a 5-6 December conference in Moscow organized by the "Globus" independent press syndicate. Forward, Russia! leader Boris Fedorov and Pamfilova-Gurov-Vladimir Lysenko Bloc leader Ella Pamfilova reportedly participated in a morning session on 5 December and leaders from NDR, Yabloko, Russia's Democratic Choice-United Democrats, the CPRF, and other parties and blocs are expected to participate as well. According to ITAR-TASS, "Globus," founded in December 1992 by its chairman Viktor Davydov, is a "non-commercial organization" that supplies information to 96 daily and weekly newspapers in 47 Russian regions with a combined circulation of 15 million copies.

Yavlinskiy Opposes Yeltsin's Government Policies

LD0512192795 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1741 GMT 5 Dec 95

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Leader of the Yabloko movement Grigoriy Yavlinskiy at a news conference at the head office of INTERFAX news agency on Tuesday said he was unsupportive of President Boris Yeltsin's economic, home and foreign policies.

He made it clear the question was not one of Yeltsin's personality as such but of the policy he pursued pointing to developments in Chechnya as one glaring example of it.

Yavlinskiy said an economic policy cannot be severed from the internal situation and to make his case, quoted figures showing a fall in this year's economic indicators. He maintained this year's nine-month inflation was higher than in the same period in 1994 while capital investment dropped by 22% in comparable prices over the period. Real incomes fell by 28% in the six months to July.

The Yabloko leader thinks that by criticizing the Communists, Yeltsin was beefing up their chance of victory in the December poll.

He also thinks there is a real threat of the revival of Socialist law and order in the event of a comeback by the Communist party. He said the party's three-phase program providing for the reinstatement of public property and Soviet rule from top to bottom indicated just that.

Nor does Yavlinsky rule out that the Communists may resort to more radical policies after winning a majority of seats in the new parliament. "Theirs is an ideological party which will not necessarily follow its program," he said.

He described as a serious problem the formation of an ideological triad of Communists, nationalists and the Russian Orthodox Church.

On Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin's future, he said the prime minister could be sacked if the Our Home movement he leads was defeated in elections. Yavlinskiy named Communist party leader Gennadiy Zyuganov and leader of the Congress of Russian Communities Yuri Skokov among probable candidates for the prime minister's job.

Yavlinskiy is determined to run for the Russian presidency in next year's poll regardless of final results of the December election. He said registration papers would be sent to the central election commission within a month

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since the end of this month's general election. IF Note: In a recent television program in Vladivostok Yavlinskiy spoke of being confident about winning the presidential election. If so, he will do his best to introduce constitutional changes to limit the presidential authority and form a responsible government with clear-cut powers.

He also announced that the Yabloko movement had collected over 800,000 signatures in his support as presidential candidate.

On the makeup of a new Duma, Yavlinskiy said it would comprise "Communists and patriots in some combination with Our Home members, Yabloko and pro-democracy groups which succeed in overcoming the 5% barrier."

However, he made it clear pro-democracy supporters would be in a minority. Yavlinskiy admitted to differences in the democratic camp saying Yabloko and the Gaydar-led United Democrats had failed to agree on how to avoid a vote splitting against each other in single mandate constituencies.

Professor Advises Voters To Choose Strongest Parties

LD0612203395

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Public Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1800 GMT on 6 December broadcasts the "Vremya" newscast with a three-minute report by Professor B. Grushin, president of the Vox Populi service, who says that in the coming Duma elections any votes cast for parties that were unlikely to overcome the five percent barrier to gain representation in the Duma would be wasted. He displays on screen a list — in alphabetical order — of the parties with a good chance of overcoming this barrier and advised voters to make their choice from it: Agrarian Party of Russia; Forward, Russia!; Ivan Rybkin Bloc; Democratic Choice of Russia-United Democrats; Women of Russia; Communist Party of the Russian Federation; Congress of Russian Communities; Liberal Democratic Party of Russia; Russia Is Our Home; Party of Workers' Self-Government; and Yabloko.

Watershed Generation Withdraws From Election Race

LD0612204195 Moscow Radiostantsiya Ekho Moskvy in Russian 1900 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Today the youth electoral bloc "Watershed Generation" announced its decision to give up its participation in the forthcoming elections to the State Duma. Sergey Bobin, cochairman of the bloc, explained this step by the lack of real chances in the elections, which he described as a political farce. The generation's leader thinks the results of the elections have already been predetermined.

[Moscow Radiostantsiya Ekho Moskvy in Russian at 1900 GMT on 6 December carries a statement by Nikolay Ryabov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, in which he says that if any election association, list, or bloc decides to withdraw from the election campaign before the voting day, only the congress or conference, which approved these lists, may withdraw it.

Security Services Take Steps To Ensure Order

LD0712083395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0754 GMT 7 Dec 95

[By Igor Belskiy and Igor Semenov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 7 (ITAR-TASS) — Russia's Federal Security Service (FSB) is taking steps to ensure public order in the course of the election campaign and the voting on December 17.

FSB spokesman Major-General Aleksandr Mikhaylov told ITAR-TASS that the security forces proceed from their duties laid down in Russian legislation and the President's instructions for the occasion.

General Mikhaylov stressed that "the situation is under control as a whole," with reference to efforts to avert any manifestations of extremism and acts of terror on the part of criminal groups.

Security forces will be further reinforced from December 11 on for patrolling city streets, deputy chief of the Russian Interior Ministry's Public Order Department Aleksandr Chekalin told ITAR-TASS.

He said the Ministry's forces were prepared to ward off any encroachments on the voting rights of Russian citizens: "The situation is fully controlled by the Interior Ministry."

Chekalin said security has been reinforced by the Interior Ministry forces in the Chechen republic since December 4. Measures have also been taken in the territories neighbouring on Chechnya, including North Ossetia, Ingushetia, Daghestan and parts of the Stavropol territory to prevent any attempts as disrupting the voting, seizing election documents or staging acts of terror against voters.

Special units have been detailed to escort vehicles carrying election documents in these regions, Chekalin said.

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Ministries Brief TsIK in Preparation for Elections

LD0612204295 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1911 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 6 (INTERFAX) — The Central Electoral Commission (CEC) [TsIK] heard information of the foreign, defense and interior ministries to ensure successful elections to the State Duma Wednesday.

Commenting on the Duma elections in Chechnya, CEC Chairman Nikolay Ryabov said the lists of electors there included some 550,000 persons.

Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Pastukhov told the meeting that all ballot papers will be delivered to ballot stations abroad by December 13. As many as 309 ballot stations will be opened in 139 countries, he added.

"Local authorities in 32 states permitted us to open ballot stations outside the embassies and consular offices to cover as many as possible Russian citizens residing abroad," he underlined.

Pastukhov said the lists of Russian electors abroad included some 380,000 persons. However, only 30 percent of them are expected to take part in the voting, he added.

Pastukhov underlined that the Baltic authorities did not allow ballot stations in densely Russian-populated areas. It is still unclear whether the Ukrainian authorities will permit opening ballot stations in Black Sea Fleet units in Crimea. At the same time, he was confident that some problems will be solved.

The first deputy head of the Main Department for Enforcement of Public Order, Aleksandr Chekalin, told the meeting that police patrols throughout Russia will be reinforced as of December 12.

Chekalin said the situation in Chechnya on the eve of the elections caused most worry. Tougher restrictions had been imposed in the republic and neighboring areas on December 4, he added.

The head of the Main Morale Department of the Defense Ministry, Sergey Zdorikov, said only 6 percent of ballot stations had been organized in army units. The bulk of 98 percent of servicemen are supposed to vote at general public ballot stations, he added.

The situation with the Russian military in Ukraine is not yet clear, he said.

Black Sea Fleet Concludes Election Preparations

LD0712122795 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1111 GMT 7 Dec 95

[By Sergey Ostanin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 7 (ITAR-TASS) — Preparation for the election to Russia's State Duma is being concluded in the Black Sea fleet. The necessary conditions for voting have been created in all the 79 polling stations of the fleet, Captain Second Class Anatoliy Kononenko, representative of the fleet's agency for educational work, told ITAR-TASS by telephone from Sevastopol on Thursday.

Electoral commissions have been formed in the fleet on order of the Commander of the fleet and are working, Kononenko said. A recent inspection confirmed that the polling stations are ready for the election. The main centres of the election campaign in the fleet will be Sevastopol, Simferopol and Donuzlav.

Personnel in the active service, as well as officers and non-commissioned officers and members of their families, holding Russian passports with inserts about Russian citizenship will participate in the voting. The bulk of the voters will consist of graduates of military schools who arrived in the Black Sea fleet since 1992. One hundred percent participation of personnel of the Black Sea fleet in the election is not expected, Kononenko said.

Regarding the procedure of voting, Kononenko said that there will be no voting in advance. Functions for combat training are planned in such a way that sailors of the Black Sea fleet will be voting all on the same day, December 17. If ships are put to sea, appropriate measures will be taken in units and onboard ships, Kononenko said.

CPRF Plans Alternative Vote Count

MK0612142195 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 6 Dec 95 p 2

[Report by Gleb Cherkasov: "CPRF Intends To Organize Its Own Counting of Votes. This May Pan Out for Communists"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Communist Party of the Russian Federation [CPRF] intends to organize its own parallel vote count during the 17 December Duma elections. Your SEGODNYA correspondent was told at the press service of the Duma's CPRF faction that the Communists are hoping primarily to "cover" those regions where the bulk of voters live. The alternative vote count

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will be done by CPRF observers, as well as by Communists who are members of electoral commissions. Subtotals taken in CPRF oblast committees will be relayed to Moscow.

Today, the CPRF is the only party that has the ability to organize an alternative vote count. The number of Communists in primary organizations is much higher than in any other party, so much so that there is simply no problem for the CPRF to have its observers in polling places. Moreover, the Communists actively and successfully participated in local elections and managed to win a majority in a number of regions. One of the consequences is the fact that Gennadiy Zyuganov's supporters took good positions in regional electoral commissions.

TRUD Publishes NDR Campaign Advertisements

NDR Promises To 'Prevent' NATO Approach

MM0612141395

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow TRUD in Russian 5 December 1995 carries on page 3 a full-page campaign feature "published within the framework of the election campaign" promoting Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin's Russia Is Our Home [NDR] movement.

The feature comprises three sections. The first 2,500-word section cites remarks by the following NDR candidate deputies regarding their election aims: Nikita Mikhalkov, movie director; Lieutenant General Lev Rokhlin, commander of the Eighth Guards Army Corps; Zhores Alferov, vice president of the Russian Academy of Sciences; Lyudmila Zykina, Russian people's artiste and member of the NDR Council; Nikolay Ozerov, president of the "Spartak" international society and member of the NDR Council; Vladimir Kadannikov, president of the AvtoVAZ motor company and member of the NDR Council; and Aleksey Batalov, Russian people's artiste and member of the NDR Council.

The second section comprises an article by Aleksandr Gamov entitled "Movement Leader: At Home With Viktor Chernomyrdin," providing details of Chernomyrdin's life relaxing at home on a typical Sunday.

The third section comprises a campaign advertisement and reads as follows:

"If we are together,

"We will immediately enact the new Criminal Code, which will considerably ease the fight against crime.

"The word 'pension' will no longer mean poverty.

"We will put an end to the fallacious practice of paying wages late.

"We will prevent the revolutionary destruction of historically-established forms of rural management.

"The list of medicines issued free of charge will be broadened by increasing state subsidies.

"We will strive to protect the rights and freedoms of all our compatriots residents in the near abroad.

"We will prevent the NATO military bloc and its nuclear weapons from drawing close to Russia's borders."

These campaign promises are followed by the NDR triangular tricolor logo bearing the words "on a firm foundation of responsibility and experience"; the full name of the organization, namely "the Russia Is Our Home All-Russia Sociopolitical Movement"; the names Viktor Stepanovich Chernomyrdin, Nikita Sergeyevich Mikhalkov, and Lev Yakovlevich Rokhlin with the words "Regional Group." The NDR's number on the ballot paper, No. 17, is emphasized in large typeface.

Support From Pensioners Union Cited

MM0712110195

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow TRUD in Russian 6 December 1995 carries on the right-hand half of page three a feature devoted to election publicity for the "Russia Is Our Home" [NDR] All-Russia Sociopolitical Movement. According to an annotation at the foot of the page these materials are "Published within the framework of the election campaign" — the form of words used to describe items printed gratis under the arrangements for quotas of free airtime and newspaper space for bodies contesting the elections.

The topmost element of this feature is a quarter-page (7 in. by 10 in.) piece promulgated by the Union of Pensioners of Russia, entitled "Why the Union of Pensioners of Russia Have Given Their Support to Viktor Chernomyrdin and the 'Russia Is Our Home' Movement." There follow a three-point justification for this support (The leader of the movement, V. Chernomyrdin, has signed a whole package of government decrees meeting the demands of the union of Pensioners of Russia — including repayment of the government debt to the state pension fund, free travel, and benefits for pensioners living alone; why should we want a new broom if we don't know how it will sweep?; Chernomyrdin is a persuasive figure who is well-balanced, candid, sound, and who is as good as his word).

The second part of the feature has a rubric "'Russia Is Our Home': First-Hand Information" and is entitled "For the 'Deceived Depositors' the Worst Is Already Over." A reader, I. Kopteva, from Podolsk in Moscow Oblast says that "deceived depositors" have only themselves

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to blame and they lost their money through greed. She asks at whose expense and why the state is prepared to give them compensation? The answer, illustrated by a histogram showing the various motives of investors in depositing money and the perceptions of these motives by noninvestors, is provided by "experts of the NDR movement's headquarters" who state that greed and gambling were not the prime motives of the "deceived depositors" but rather as a hedge against inflation and to boost their pensions. The experts state that these duped investors merit understanding and that "the government and NDR have started to organize real help for them."

The third element of the publicity feature is a 2.5 in. by 7 in. space showing in the left hand side the NDR logo (right triangle depicting the tricolor roof of a house, beneath which stand the words "Russia Is Our Home" forming the walls of the house. Below the house in smaller print are the words "on the firm foundation of responsibility and experience" To the right of the logo is the full official name of the movement as it would appear on the ballot paper with, underneath, the names of leaders V. Chernomyrdin, N. Mikhalkov, and L. Rokhlin, followed by a blank space and dotted line where the details of the regional group would appear and to the right of this a checkmark in a box. On the extreme right is a large figure 17 explained by the words "Our number on the ballot paper is..."

Former Supporter Denounces Zhirinovskiy

MM0612151195 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 5 Dec 95 p 1

[Undated "Letter From a Private Farmer" to editors: "I Was Cruelly Deceived"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Esteemed Editors!

This is a letter from an ordinary Russian private farmer from Kaluga Oblast; my name is Yuriy Vasilyevich Orlov.

In 1989 I sincerely believed the USSR government and, having seen the draft laws "On Land," "On Property," and "On the Peasant Farm," I went into the very heart of Central Russia, settled in a village whose inhabitants all left 20 years ago because it had no future, and built from scratch my own farm, consisting of a private farmhouse, production and ancillary premises, and a fuels and lubricants storehouse. I acquired my own machinery and the equipment necessary to work the land. I acquired possession, with hereditary rights, of 153 hectares of land and began to improve the soil fertility, and I obtained considerably high yields. This was mentioned in the local press. The cost of insuring the real estate and all the fixed capital amounted in 1994 to 1.5 billion rubles. In 1995 I simply have no funds to take out insurance.

Four years ago I paid back all the loans I had taken out to the bank, although they had been given to me for a period of between 12 and 50 years at 8 percent annual interest.

When setting up my farm I experienced no difficulties, since there was order in the state, and functionaries strictly observed USSR legislation for fear of losing their jobs and CPSU party cards. I believe that this was thanks to M. Gorbachev, who, I believe, wanted to haul the country onto the rails of the market economy through legislation and while maintaining full discipline and move toward full democratic administration of the state. But his entourage, calling themselves "democrats," decided to introduce the market and the rule of parliament in Russia by edict. They did not even realize that all this can be resolved only by evolutionary means, and, in the final analysis, is something that you absorb with your mother's milk. All these renegades from the CPSU tried to make a democratic revolution, and as a result Russia acquired a government and a president who completely destroyed, betrayed, and robbed the great Union. The rule began of people who openly lie to the whole people, who have made everyone beggars, who have deprived the masses of the right to work, and who have doomed working people to unpaid labor. There is no greater humiliation than working for nothing. All the people's money has been siphoned into various commercial banks abroad. And the poor people — most importantly of all, our children — have been completely deprived of their future.

All winter, after gathering the harvest, for three years now I have humbled myself in the offices of the Duma and the "White House," begging for help. This year, 1995, I finally understood that both myself and my companions — four families of workers from the local state collective farm who joined me two years ago — are doomed. A farm development program was signed by the top people in the government, but there is no result. I have been round all the factions in the Duma, asking for help to obtain loans. Everyone promises help as soon as they come to power. This is a lie!

At a conference Mr. V.V. Zhirinovskiy personally directed that I be granted $200,000 and equipment to process meat and milk, but all these are the empty promises of a man hungry for power.

I want to appeal to the entire Russian people: Do not believe all these Gaydars, Yavlinskiys, and Zhirinovskiys because they are people who are pushing the country toward the abyss and who only line their own pockets.

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After all, if you consider it properly, in the former socialist state you had to fulfill the basic article of the Constitution: "From each according to his capabilities, to each according to his labor" — and resolve all forms of ownership. That was what perestroyka was all about. And if the brains are lacking to comprehend this basic fact, many people would not have needed to strive for power [paragraph as published].

The patience of a people entirely deprived of rights is simply amazing! Still more amazing is the ability to lie shamelessly and with impunity.

I personally see only one [as published] way out of the existing situation: either dictatorship or victory for the CPRF [Communist Party of the Russian Federation].

I consider it the greatest shame of my life to have been a member of the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia], a party of liars and hypocrites. They do not even consider members of their own party to be human beings. I have been cruelly deceived, and let the day of the publication of this note be the day that the Kuybyshevskiy Rayon organization of the LDPR ceases to exist, since in joining the LDPR people believed in me, not in Zhirinovskiy. From him we expected only help, but we were deceived.

All you who seek power should understand that the people want only to work and receive pay for their labor, not to feed a gang of chatterboxes.

[signed] Yu.V. Orlov, a private farmer from Kaluga Oblast

Regional Activities

Reportage on Progress of Oblast Election Campaigns

Volgograd Oblast

MM0612131295 VYBORY-95 WWW in Russian 29 Nov 95

[Unattributed report: "Volgograd Oblast" — received via Internet]

[FBIS Translated Text]

Conclusion of Candidate Deputy Registration Stage

The candidacy of Vladimir Aleksandrovich Ignatyev (independent candidate, born in 1938, rector of Volgograd's Architecture and Construction Academy) was added to the list of previously registered contenders for deputies' seats last week (12-18 November). V.A. Ignatyev thus became the 23d candidate in No. 71 Central Electoral District and the first among them to be registered following a ruling by Volgograd Oblast Court (the court hearing took place 4 November). V.A. Ignatyev's candidacy was rejected earlier by the district electoral commission on the grounds that the relevant documents, including the collection of signatures, had been filed with the commission for registration not by V.A. Ignatyev personally, since he was traveling abroad at the time, but by some representative of his whose powers, in the commission's opinion, had not been officially confirmed.

Thus, by now the total number of candidates in Volgograd Oblast has reached 60, giving an average of 15 contenders per deputy's seat.

Any further changes in the composition of the list of candidate deputies is becoming less and less likely, despite the fact that several court cases are still pending. Specifically, an appeal against refusal of registration as candidate deputy from No. 68 Volzhskiy Electoral District has been filed, according to available information, by T. Kandaurova who had tried to register earlier following her nomination by the "Women of Russia" electoral association and who had been suspected by the electoral commission of having submitted a rather high number of invalid signatures. Another ongoing court case has been initiated by several failed contenders from No. 69 Krasnoarmeyskiy Electoral District. It has to be said that this was the district where the so-called Russian Community, headed by extreme nationalists S. Terentyev and A. Losev (who are, incidentally, registered as candidate deputies from the "Union of Patriots" electoral association from No. 71 Central Electoral District and No. 69 Krasnoarmeyskiy Electoral District respectively), attempted — as it did in the Central Electoral District (see our previous review) — to register several candidates by way of a "political onslaught." Much to the organizers' disappointment, this plan failed, as distinct from what happened in Central Electoral District. The refusal to register allegedly independent candidates who had actually been nominated by the Russian Community provided the grounds for the court case. While agreeing completely that this loophole, based on flaws in the legislation, actually leaves a rather nasty aftertaste, it must be said at the same time that strictly speaking there are no limitations at all on such actions. Therefore, the refusal to register R.S. Bukayeva, V.A. Sorokin, I.Z. Abushayev, and V.L. Chigrin on the grounds that their signature lists had been compiled in breach of legislation (the specific reason being that they include abbreviated suffixes in signatories' patronymics or, by way of another example, abbreviated name of the city of residence like "city of V-d" instead of "city of Volgograd") appears rather unconvincing, especially in view of the obvious fact that the signatures in question were be-

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ing collected at the same time and in the same format as signatures in support of the selfsame A. Losev who was registered by the electoral commission without any complaints.

The trial itself has become rather long-drawn out by now, and its main point — according to an observer looking at the results of the latest sitting 17 November — seems to involve the filing of more and more fresh challenges against the chairman and the court's composition by the plaintiffs.

Election Campaign in the Media

The statements by candidate State Duma deputies on the Volgograd-TRV regional company's radio and television channels, which started 15 November, are just endless monologues. Against this background, it has to said yet again that the aforementioned intrigue by Terentyev and Losev, who have succeeded in gaining airtime to campaign for themselves and their own ideas by registering their associates, is already yielding the expected dividends. As a result of their actions, and in addition to their own seven minutes on television and five minutes on radio to which they are entitled as candidate deputies, they also gained almost 50 minutes of television airtime and about 30 minutes of radio time thanks to their seven associates in three electoral districts. It has been seen that they are trying to make the best possible use of this time by organizing themed statements.

All five registered candidates from No. 70 Mikhaylovskiy Electoral District were expected to participate in the 17 November radio broadcast. In actual fact only two of them took part. S.B. Sheboldayev sent a message that he could not leave Moscow due to adverse weather conditions, while the two remaining candidates failed to appear without explaining why.

In parallel with using their allotted free radio and television airtime, several electoral associations and individual candidates have applied for allocation of additional paid time. Following the draw held 13 November, all these applications have been granted but it must be said that there was no particular excitement in the jockeying for additional airtime. Additional television airtime was allotted as follows: LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia], "Ivan Rybkin's Bloc," and Russian All-People's Movement — 30 minutes each; National Republican Party of Russia — 20 minutes; CPRF [Communist Party of the Russian Federation] and "Derzhava" — 10 minutes each. Individual candidates were allotted additional airtime as follows: O. Karpenko (LDPR, No. 71 Electoral District) — 30 minutes; S. Nizhegorodov — 20 minutes (2 blocks of 10 minutes each); A. Aparina (CPRF, No. 71 Electoral District) — 10 minutes; V. Molchanov (LDPR to all intents and purposes, No. 68 Electoral District) — 10 minutes; V. Khomutov (NDR [Russia Is Our Home], No. 69 Electoral District) — 20 minutes (4 blocks of 5 minutes each). In addition to this, time has also been allotted in response to applications for videoclips lasting between 30 seconds and two minutes (to be screened during breaks between programs), but specific information on this matter is not yet available. The local mass media, despite the Central Electoral Commission's instructions, have yet to publish even the data reported above.

Furthermore, additional radio time of 20 minutes each has been allotted to the LDPR, the CPRF, "Derzhava," "Ivan Rybkin's Bloc," and the Russian All-People's Movement.

The LDPR representatives are the most confident as regards finances. This conclusion is confirmed by their behavior at the draw for paid airtime; the current limitations on the duration of airtime to be used, and specifically the proclaimed 30-minute limit on paid television time allotted to an electoral association, prompted the Karpenko brothers, leaders of the local LDPR organization, to complain, saying that only the LDPR has the money while the others do not and are not likely to have this money. One has to partially agree with this assessment, since the first day of the draw was attended by at least 15 applicants for paid time. The aforementioned results speak for themselves. Incidentally, according to some reports several candidates would not be averse to getting hold of paid airtime provided that the money for its use were to be transferred to the television and radio broadcasting company directly from the accounts of candidates' political sponsors, bypassing their election accounts. According to some reports, the total value of such applications which have been turned down is estimated at 100-125 million rubles.

At present the majority of the most authoritative local newspapers have already determined their political allegiance. An analysis of the prevailing situation shows that the NDR electoral association has proved to be the unquestioned victor in the undercover struggle for newspaper space. Moreover, the scale of its takeover of newspaper space is such that one could talk about an inexcusable toadying by some newspapers. VOLOGOGRADSKAYA PRAVDA [Volgograd Truth], organ of Volgograd Oblast Administration, must be seen as winner in this dubious competition. The publication of this electoral association's materials, highlighted under a special rubric and appearing as a rule on the front page, is a mandatory feature of virtually every issue of this newspaper.

Let us cite a few examples of editorial policy.

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The 14 November issue carried a long article about A. Sharonov, a supposedly independent candidate from No. 68 Volzhskiy Electoral District who is in fact backed by the NDR.

The 15 November issue carried two NDR items, with a front-page trailer for the one that appeared on page two. Let us note that this second item, being an interview with N. Alikov, leader-coordinator of the NDR Volgograd organization, contained the following description of G. Zyuganov: "One can also feel sympathy for the present leader of the CPRF, a rather sober-minded person."

The 16 November issue carried textual mentions of the NDR. Presumably this exception was prompted by the fact that on that day the newspaper had published election campaign material from several candidates within the framework of mandatory provision of free newspaper space.

The 17 November issue carried two items, on pages one and three respectively.

The newspaper has not been seen to carry material from other electoral associations.

A similar line of behavior is followed by NOVAYA GAZETA [New Newspaper], which published seven NDR items in its four issues last week, and three of these items essentially comprised the entire contents of its special weekly supplement entitled "Guberniya News." No material from other electoral associations is carried by this newspaper, either.

The stance of the other newspapers can be described as follows.

The weekly INTER as rule carries some material favoring the NDR, but it prefers to use for this purpose excerpts from interviews with the movement's leadership which are evidently disseminated through the news agencies. At the same time, newspaper editor Ye. Shusterman's unconcealed sympathy for Russia's Democratic Choice is reflected in the material carried in each issue.

The newspaper GORODSKIYE VESTI [City News] adheres to approximately the same position toward the NDR, with the exception that one of the newspaper's special correspondents recently attended V. Chernomyrdin's meeting with journalists from the Volga Valley region and his report took up a whole page. Otherwise the newspaper had earlier taken a pro-Yabloko stance, which actually and almost exclusively took the form of political advertisements by Yabloko candidate I. Lukashev. But last Friday [24 November] the newspaper carried a long article about I.P. Rybkin entitled "Thought-Provoking Duma Tamer." This coincided with the publication of an article along similar lines in the latest issue of INTER and, taking into account the long-established ties between the two newspapers' editors and Volgograd City Administration Head Yu. Chekhov — who recently declared that the City Hall leadership is stepping up its activity in support of several candidate State Duma deputies, it prompts the assumption that editorial policy in the future might differ from that in the past.

Nizhniy Novgorod Oblast

MM0612125295 VYBORY-95 WWW in Russian 29 Nov 95

[Unattributed report: "Nizhniy Novgorod Oblast" — received via Internet]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [passage omitted]

Parliamentary Elections

Candidate Registration

The saga of the registration of Andrey Klimentyev, who is still on remand in a holding center, as a candidate deputy has finally ended. The main milestones in the case have been: The electoral commission refused to accept the lists of signatures in support of Kilimentyev because he had not signed them; the oblast court ordered it to accept the documents; the commission accepted the lists, but refused registration because of formatting errors; the oblast court (13 November) ordered the court to register Klimentyev within two weeks; 15 November, at the end of the working day, a deputy's certificate was issued after all. A. Klimentyev thus became the 19th candidate in the most "densely populated" electoral district — Kanavinskiy No. 120 — and the 79th candidate in all six of the oblast's districts.

Visits by Leaders of federal Electoral Associations and Blocs

Last week the oblast was visited by I. Khakamada, who launched her "Common Cause" electoral association's advertising campaign and also supported her State Duma colleague Yevgeniy Bushmin, currently an independent candidate for Sergachskiy Electoral District No. 122.

Media Participation in Election Campaign

The opposition's main mouthpiece in the region — the newspaper NIZHEGORODSKAYA PRAVDA — is continuing to fuel the furor surrounding young politician Mikhail Mirny's tactless and clumsy outburst on local radio. It is publishing roundups of angry rebuttals from

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veterans, their organizations, and other sociopolitical associations and has printed a lengthy threat-laden ramble. The clearly exaggerated reaction to Mirnyy's statement is undoubtedly seen as a chance to have another reason to "kick" the NDR [Russia Is Our Home], of which M. Mirnyy is the local branch chief; to indirectly get at [Oblast Governor] B. Nemtsov, of whom Mirnyy is a protege; and, in general, to stir up the veterans again.

The oblast television company (NNTV) has started a cycle of live broadcasts for candidates to present themselves. This is being done reluctantly, strictly because it feels it has to, and so everything is coming out stiff and boring. Furthermore the "Choose!" program goes out at a low-audience time: Around 1800 hours on workdays.

Under recent accords between the leaders of local television companies one minute of paid air time should not cost less than $600, but few people believe in the possibility of an "honest game" since the candidates' financial opportunities are manifestly less than expected.

Rostov Oblast

MM0612094295 VYBORY-95 WWW in Russian 29 Nov 95

[Unattributed report: "Rostov Oblast" — received via Internet]

[FBIS Translated Text] Russia's Democratic Choice candidate A.M. Sklyarov, director of the "Puls" Television and Radio Broadcasting Company in the city of Azov, has been successfully registered as candidate State Duma deputy from No. 147 Taganrogskiy Electoral District. He has thus created substantial difficulties in the district for S.V. Mironov (from the Yabloko bloc), the more "electable" candidate of democratic forces. At the same time, he has virtually put an end to any hopes of success by V.P. Vodolatskiy, first deputy head of Azov City Administration (independent candidate, formerly from the NDR [Russia Is Our Home]). Observers had earlier assumed that the votes of residents of the city of Azov, cast in support of the only candidate from their own city, could bring Vodolatskiy victory over the numerous candidates in Taganrog. The Central Electoral Commission's decision to register Sklyarov has also caused dissatisfaction among members of the local electoral commission, who remain convinced that they were correct [in refusing registration].

The electoral commission has introduced two amendments to the data about candidates registered in No. 144 Electoral District:

I.M. Yevdokimov, chairman of the "Zarya" association of peasant farms, independent candidate (previously listed as chairman of the "Zarya" Kolkhoz);

I.A. Pasechnikova, editor of the NASHE ZERKALO [Our Mirror] regional political newspaper, director of the "Nashe Zerkalo" limited partnership, city of Donetsk, "Panfilova-Gurov-Lysenko" electoral bloc (it was initially reported that she was running with support from Russia's Democratic Choice).

The oblast legislative assembly held a scheduled "round-table" session at which the oblast electoral commission chairman answered questions from representatives of various movements and parties. They were most keen to find out about problems associated with the procedure for vote counting and their right to inspect copies of the protocols, as well as the number of mobile ballot boxes (it was agreed that the number will be determined in advance and, on this basis, the movements will be able to assign their observers accordingly). Another thorny problem was also discussed — where is it allowed to stick leaflets and where not. The meeting ended with an appeal by the chairman that the election campaign should be conducted with dignity and mutual respect.

Visits

In connection with the election campaign, the city and oblast are the targets of earnest visits by top and second-from-top leaders of various political movements: Kryuchkov (leader of the Russian Party of Communists), Shcherbakov ("Labor" party), Shelov-Kovedyayev (Russia's Democratic Choice), and so on and so forth. Very often reports about the visits appear in the form of just a single sentence in some press release, so that it is not always possible to recognize the visitor's and the movement's names. Newspapers respond to these visits sluggishly, as do the voters themselves, who are already somewhat fed up with this "star" parade. (It may produce a significantly better reaction in the countryside).

KRO [Congress of Russian Communities] "Assault"

This opinion was confirmed by the visit to Rostov by KRO leaders A. Lebed, Yu. Skokov, and K. Zatulin (it must be noted that Lebed himself comes from Rostov Oblast, while Zatulin's parents live in Rostov). The newspapers made virtually no mention of the forthcoming visit, but all the main mass media carried reports on its conclusion, including a television interview. The local KRO organization leadership failed to widely publicize the program for the forthcoming visit, and this made it impossible to fully utilize the potential of direct and indirect campaigning for their association. The audience at the movie theater hall where the meeting took

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place was an extremely mixed crowd, with the group of supporters clearly visible. Representatives of competing movements also made their presence felt. The visitors opted for answering only written questions (thus gaining an opportunity to weed out any awkward questions). The attempt by an insistent voter to nonetheless ask his question from the floor ended in a small scuffle and his expulsion from the hall. Local candidate deputies from the KRO attended the meeting as extras seated around the presidium table.

Lebed's speech, with its ordinary soldier's humor, was well received by the audience, while Skokov proved a disappointment with frequent repetitions and vague answers. Zatulin's speech touched upon questions of protecting the Russian population in the near abroad and was more specific.

The newspaper UTRO [Morning] carried a detailed report on this meeting, consisting entirely of statements made by the speakers. Its correspondent quoted only Lebed and Zatulin.

The speakers clearly attempted to persuade those present that the KRO is above party politics and, according to them, is built along the lines of traditional communities. They tried not to mention the Communists, but one of the frequently mentioned political figures was Shakhray, whom the KRO leaders do not like very much. The visitors told the citizens of Rostov that people are "fed up with living under the mummers and Shakhray" and reminded them of the translation of his family name from the Ukrainian ("swindler"). Zhirinovskiy was mentioned on and off, while Yavlinskiy was mentioned on four occasions. It was said, for example, that "you have before you his '500 Days' program, but its name has been changed to '900 Days.'" Furthermore, the speakers claimed, Yavlinskiy had apparently complained to America that the KRO is a nationalist organization and Skokov had been forced to travel to the United States to refute this lie.

The KRO leaders assume that the main reason why voters should have faith in their organization is that it will aim for the passage of a law under which any government in power should resign if it fails to improve the population's situation within one year. This idea was repeated several times, like an incantation.

In conclusion, it should be mentioned that the KRO has been joined by M. Sholokhov's son M.M. Sholokhov (who was one of the initiators of the movement for Cossack rebirth, but soon abandoned it).

Campaign Materials

A most widespread paste-up of campaign material was carried out in No. 146 Electoral District 10-12 November by M. Yemelyanov (Yabloko Bloc). Virtually every apartment block and every other lamppost along the main public transport routes is pasted with his posters. It is a pity about the text and presentation of these posters (a lot of shallow text that hardly says anything, and the useless posting of such posters on highway lampposts). A week later some 30 percent of the posters were still legible.

At the same time, a partial distribution of leaflets through mail boxes was carried out by Khachaturov (as had been assumed, this independent candidate has adequate financial resources).

Free Newspaper, Radio, and Television Advertising

The oblast newspapers have started printing full pages carrying blocks of free election campaign advertising. It is difficult to "digest" all this information, even for someone actively involved in political life. Only materials containing good photographs with brief and well-presented text stand out among the rest. The publications by candidates Linnik (No. 148 Shakhtinskiy Electoral District) and Khachaturov (No. 146 Rostovskiy Electoral District) can be described as successful in this regard. But the overwhelming majority of materials have been composed with only one idea in mind — to include as much small-print text as possible in the allotted space.

The airtime allotted to candidates can be described by the well known proverb "Don't look a gift horse in the mouth." The radio time is in the late morning, after 0910 hours, and television time is in the early evening, starting at 1720 hours, when two-thirds of population are not at home.

Special mention ought to be made of the methods used to allocate airtime.

As of 17 November, experts did not have adequate information about the machinery for allocating airtime. There is also a lack of regular notification of who will be speaking when.

One gets the impression that everything is being done to ensure that the free advertising opportunity given to candidates is utilized by them with the least possible impact.

Numerous observers perceive this as possible "favoritism" toward the NDR and assume that the Central Electoral Commission must intervene to settle the problem.

Candidates Kogan (No. 147 Electoral District), Shapovalov (No. 142 Electoral District) and Titarenko (No. 145 Electoral District) did not turn up for the live radio broadcast 16 November. The following candidates spoke:

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Bespalov (CPRF [Communist Party of the Russian Federation], No. 148 Electoral District). He spoke about power by the working people, the principles of people's power, free medical services and education, confidence in the future, and so on and so forth. In his capacity as current deputy, the speaker reported that he had fulfilled all instructions by his voters, and if something had nonetheless not been fulfilled, the present regime and the existing Constitution are to blame.

Yemelyanov (Yabloko bloc, No. 146 Electoral District). He promised that he would struggle to eliminate inequality between regions as regards allocation of funds from the federal budget. He cited figures to prove that Rostov Oblast and its population are suffering as a result of being fleeced by the Federation. He gave assurances that the Yabloko faction in the State Duma would help him because he shares the same views. He wasted so much time expounding this issue that he had no more time to say anything important or interesting.

Representative G. Popova (Social-Democratic Union). Her statement lasted 10 minutes and consisted of her reading out a prepared text. What she had to offer the voters depressed even many of the social-democrats' supporters with the unrealistic nature of the promises it contained. These were: subsidies for young families; abolition of rent payments for pensioners; land for servicemen when they retire on pension; free two-hectare subsidiary farm plots for countryside residents; education credits for students; and reduced taxes, greater social security, indexation of the population's deposits, restoration of justice for those defrauded through vouchers, and much else for everyone.

Representatives of the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia] did not appear at their scheduled time.

We would like to draw attention to the following candidates from among those who have spoken in the last few days:

Khachaturov (independent candidate, No. 146 Electoral District). His speech demonstrated primarily the candidate's skill to work with his audience and maintain the impression of a dialogue. Observers mention him as one of the best.

Representative of the Party of Working People's Self-Management [PST] (A. Rodin, candidate from No. 146 Electoral District). His speech is also noted as one of the must successful. The PST representative revealed the movement's tasks with good arguments but avoided hackneyed slogans. It was emphasized that Svyatoslav Fedorov comes from Rostov, graduated from the local medical institute, worked in the village of Veshenskaya, and has proved what can be achieved by working people who are also property owners and who, according to Rodin, form the base of the PST. In Rostov Oblast they are primarily private farmers, numbering a total of 15,000. As for the PST's tasks in the Duma, he mentioned the emancipation of labor, the introduction of private ownership of land, and the transformation of investors into respectable people. He made successful use of the slogan "All together, for each and every one's prosperity!"

Tsikora (PST, No. 142 Electoral District). The speaker's appearance brought a Zaporozhye Cossack to mind, and the appropriate mustache was very suitable. His speech was distinguished by smoothness and sound arguments. He described himself as a private farmer owning two shops for the processing of agricultural produce and a small bread factory. He campaigned for himself and the PST under the slogan "Party of people who gets things done."

So far the Cossacks' statements have not been impressive. For example, Demyanenko (hetman of the ROD [precise expansion unknown], No. 148 Electoral District), rather muffed his speech. The overall refrain in his speech was "Great power, faith, orthodoxy."

Political Life

"Working Russia" and the CPRF demonstrated yet again the split existing between them. This happened in Azov, during the celebrations of the October Revolution anniversary. Rostov representatives of "Working Russia" were not given the floor at the festive meeting because they campaign against the CPRF in the election campaign and even call on the population to boycott elections in districts where there are no "Working" candidates but only CPRF candidates. Representatives of the "Communists-Working Russia-For the Soviet Union" bloc describe the CPRF as "nuclear social-democrats." Their dislike for the CPRF has driven the "Working" supporters to the point where Akopyan, coordinator of the "Officers Union" Rostov Regional Branch, which has joined their bloc, declared that Chub (the governor who is vacillating between the NDR and Russia's Democratic Choice) is working and trying to do something for people, while Ivanchenko and other leaders of the CPRF Rostov organization have failed to honor their promises to the voters.

Administration's Activity

The administration is taking every opportunity to promote itself during the election campaign.

On 16 November the oblast newspaper MOLOT [Hammer] carried in place or its regular "leader" an interview

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with V. Linnik, director of the oblast administration Department for Social Protection of the Population, entitled "I Want People To Live in Dignity..." and accompanied by his photograph (Linnik ranks second in the regional NDR list and is the sole official NDR candidate for the oblast's single-seat district). If they had had to pay the going rates, the space taken by the article in the newspaper would have cost the candidate or his bloc approximately 6 million rubles (at the rate of 12,000 rubles per square cm). The interview in itself is a curious document, containing a series of original thoughts, evidently meant to prove that the author is familiar with the ways to overcome the crisis in the sphere of his professional activity and that he is no stranger to professional zeal. The item makes it clear that the main fault for the nonpayment of pensions lies with Kirchev, former leader of the pensions fund, and that all that needs to be done is to simply take the pension money from the "Yuzhnyy Region" Bank, hand it over to the Savings Bank, and everything will be fine.

Forecasts & Commentary

NDR 'Very Strong' in Single-Seat Districts

MM0612152095 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 Dec 95 p 2

[Article by Mikhail Gurevich: "Intriguing Arithmetic: Is a Specter Abroad?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The closer we get to 17 December, the more actively our pollsters, journalists, and politicians get involved in the new game of chance: Guessing the results of the elections. The impressive success (in terms of either victory or revenge) of the Communists figures very often in these wagers-cum-forecasts.

But what in this case does "victory" mean? The fact that the Communist Party of the Russian Federation [CPRF] will obtain, say, 11-12 percent of the votes, while Russia Is Our Home [NDR] and Yablko will get around 10 percent?

Let us examine this.

If the aforementioned figures are close to the truth, then, once you take account of the share-out among the leaders of the votes cast for associations which fail to clear the 5-percent barrier, Zyuganov's followers will obtain a little under one-quarter of the votes in the half of the State Duma elected on the party lists. While the NDR will obtain around 20 percent of the votes.

But everyone forgets that the Duma has a second half, which is elected by single-seat districts. For some reason, they forget to "count" them, yet the "single-seat district" picture is far from identical to that of its first-past-the-post cousin. In the last elections, for example, the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR] led the elections on the party lists, but Zhirinovskiy's followers could win only very few seats in the territorial polling districts. Unlike Russia's Choice, which emerged initially as a very powerful faction by virtue of its deputies elected for single-seat districts.

This time the NDR candidates enjoy a very strong position in the single-seat districts.

The basic arithmetic here would seem to be enshrined in the Law on the State Duma Elections. However, for some reason no one bothers to do this simple arithmetic. On the contrary, some journalists (of a democratic persuasion, what is more) take a kind of masochistic pleasure in prophesying "Red revenge," which could help willy-nilly to bring it about.

Incidentally, there is a further piece of intriguing arithmetic. If the idea of holding the single-seat ballot in two rounds gains the upper hand, then, by adding two weeks (14 days) to 17 December, we get a second-round date of 31 December.

Happy New Year!

Zyuganov Discusses Elections, Alliances, Economy

BR0512151695 Madrid ABC in Spanish 2 Dec 95 p 42

[Interview with Russia's Communist Party leader Gennadiy Zyuganov by Juan Cierco in Moscow; date not given: "Zyuganov: 'Yeltsin's Illness Is Intellectual'" — first paragraph is ABC introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] His luxurious office in the Duma (the Russian Parliament's Lower House) is dominated — this comes as no surprise — by a huge map of the former Soviet Socialist Republics. It also shows Western Europe, something which may be considered a dangerous warning. At any rate, the doubts are quickly dispelled. Gennadiy Zyuganov, president of Russia's Communist Party, is a serious and civilized man who rarely speaks loudly. He is considered a favorite candidate for the 17 December legislative elections and has to inspire confidence. That is his current goal.

[ABC] Do you believe that the parliamentary elections could be postponed?

[Zyuganov] We have already gone too far to cancel them now. It is true, there are powers interested in frustrating the elections. The so-called democrats, whose policy has suffered a complete failure, are in favor of postponement because they do not expect anything from the elections anymore. Nevertheless, I believe that this

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country's citizens have come to realize that they have made a mistake in the elections once, and that they now have the possibility of changing their situation with the help of the ballot box.

[ABC] Still, important Kremlin leaders such as Georgiy Satarov have spoken out in favor of postponing the elections.

[Zyuganov] Satarov was not the only one to raise objections. Shakray has also expressed his doubts; Yeltsin stated that it was unacceptable to let the Communists win. They are now preparing the ground to cancel the results of the elections. At the same time they have finalized the steps for postponing the June presidential elections, but ever since the president's health declined they are at a loss.

[ABC] What will be the Communist Party's reaction if the presidential elections are postponed?

[Zyuganov] We have taken the necessary steps to try to avoid that possibility. We have met with business representatives; we have consulted the European Council and the European Parliament. We have explained to them that the elections are the only dignified way to get out of the current situation.

If the elections are not held, Russia will lose control. You must keep in mind that 20 million Russians are unemployed, that 15 million lack food, and that 6 million are refugees. That is our reality. I myself talked to Bill Clinton, who told me that Yeltsin had promised him to hold elections. I explained to Clinton that our president cares little about a given word.

[ABC] Is an alliance with General Lebed's party possible?

[Zyuganov] This is our program: "For Our Soviet Fatherland" (He lifts a pamphlet from his desk). Our real allies are the farmers, the unions, the feminist organizations, and the veterans. We are willing to collaborate in a constructive way with all parties that aim for peace in Russia, Russia's territorial integrity, and each family's well-being. Is is certain that no one will obtain the absolute majority. Coalitions will be necessary and we do not rule out an alliance with the Congress of Russian Communities of Lebed, Skokov, and Glazyev. Our goal is only that the party of common sense obtain the majority in the Duma.

[ABC] Will your party support Skokov as prime minister and Lebed as president?

[Zyuganov] Please slow down. We will support the candidate who wants to develop the economic, health, social, educational, and cultural development of Russia; who relies on the principles of justice; who makes foreign policy in accordance with Russia's interests. Whoever meets all these criteria can count on our support.

[ABC] What do you think of Gen. Lebed?

[Zyuganov] The Army has many valuable generals. Why are the media attaching so much importance to Lebed? His behavior during the 1991 events remains unclear to me. He was ordered to defend the country, the Constitution, and the results of the referendum. He did exactly the contrary: he supported Yeltsin and Rutskoy, who destroyed the state.

[ABC] Do you distrust Lebed?

[Zyuganov] I trust concrete facts instead of nice words. Gorbachev promised to renew the Socialist idea and ended up a traitor. He would say one thing and do something else. Yeltsin promised to establish a democratic system and no monarch or secretary general has ever had as much power as him.

[ABC] Do you see Yeltsin's illness as the start of the regime's end?

[Zyuganov] Our president has been ill for some time and his illness cannot be cured with medication. Yeltsin's illness is more of an intellectual than a physical nature. Moreover, instead of paying attention he leads the big life: he harasses his secretaries, plays tennis with [French President] Chirac, dies of laughter with Clinton.

[ABC] Will you present yourself for the presidential elections scheduled for June 1996?

[Zyuganov] The party will make that decision. The presidency, in its current conception, is a disaster for Russia. Our president has more power than the Soviet secretary general, the tsar of Russia, and the Egyptian pharaoh together. With that much power, only a moderate person with a head of gold [cabeza de oro] should be allowed to be president. We need to balance the system of powers, we need a strong government under the control of the Duma, a president who is a kind of father to the nation and who is not guilty of populism.

[ABC] In all east European countries strikes as well as protests have increased, even violent ones. Why does that not happen in Russia?

[Zyuganov] We Russians have an enormous capacity for resistance. But we cannot let the country be pillaged and robbed of everything. Ten years like this go against all common sense. Patience has begun to be used up. A recent poll showed that out of every 10 families, eight cannot afford to buy shoes. Russia is not Africa, here we cannot walk without shoes! Power violates all elemental

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laws of the people's survival. Now we can still change the situation without chaos. But time is running out.

[ABC] Your critics say that when you reach power you will nationalize everything you can.

[Zyuganov] With respect to this, our program is crystal-clear: We Communists do not favor a mixed economy. One of the reasons for the Soviet Union's destruction was the total monopoly by the state. That way the internal source for development dried up and the political top began to rot away. The party leaders not only betrayed the Communist Party but also the country's culture, history, and future. Today foreign investors have no possibility of working here. Their investments [in Russia] are very limited, whereas in China they exceed $100 billion per year. That is why foreign businessmen, who are afraid of the Russian economy, listen to us attentively and are willing to cooperate with us after realizing our level of maturity.

[ABC] Will the Communists revise Yeltsin's privatization program?

[Zyuganov] Privatizations and nationalizations do not cause problems elsewhere. In France, for instance, there is a strong state industry which provides social guarantees to the population. A great country must be able to provide for its citizens' well-being, above all for those who most need it. We opt for controlled privatizations but we are opposed to extreme measures. I am absolutely convinced that if we begin to confiscate everything tomorrow, we will immediately have war all over the country. For that reason, we propose a balanced policy. If a privatized business functions well, we will support it without hesitation.

Reasons for Multiple Communist Parties Examined

MM0512112695 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 30 Nov 95 p 4

[Article by Sergey Kara-Murza: "Difficult Questions. Why Do We Have So Many Communist Parties?" — from the 'For Our Soviet Motherland!' section]

[FBIS Translated Text] One and the same question arises at all voters' meetings: Why do we have so many communist parties? People say: A candidate from Tyulkin's party came to us and set up a red flag and a hammer and sickle — fine! But now you have come from Zyuganov, and again a red flag. Why can you not reach agreement? Why not come together in a single party? This is a cry from the heart, but there is also a detached question: What is the difference between these parties?

In public the candidates reply as tactfully as they can. They are seeking a tactical advantage and endeavoring to fall in with prevailing sentiments. But it is also useful to investigate the essence of the matter. I offer an investigation plan and my opinion.

The craving for unity is an important feature of the community mentality of the peoples of Russia. This craving is strong in those who have already rejected in their heart the course of the "democrats." Zinovyev was right when he said that the Soviet system accorded exactly with our mentality: We were content when the Supreme Soviet voted unanimously. This is a source of strength, particularly at a time of wars. It is also a source of weakness, particularly in times of profound changes of any kind, when society is at a crossroads and is in need of questing and "roving." The seventies and eighties marked the start of a world crisis. An energy crisis, an ecological crisis, a demographic crisis — all these are just symptoms. Since there was a profound crisis, revolutions and wars of a new kind began. The technical revolution, the sexual revolution, the cultural (rock) revolution, the ethnic revolution — these were all responses to the crisis.

In the USSR "roving" and questing were hampered to a very great degree. The partycratic system could not cope with this contradiction: how to combine the craving for unity with flexible modernization. It "preferred to destroy itself," having nurtured within itself its own "alleged destroyers." I believe that the wise Mao Zedong had a presentiment of the same danger in the CPC and thwarted it in a heavy-handed, bruising way — he called on the students and Red Guards to smash the nomenklatura superstructure. This was the Chinese version of our 1937. A shaking up of the elite and the destruction of the ties which had arisen within it. Such a brutal, emergency method is possible just once in the cycle of history. It works for just two generations.

We have here before us the main problem of the complex "traditional" society with its community solidarity and religiousness of thought. Life in this society is spiritualized, but it is a fragile society, and crises in it are very grave. Such, too, is Russia. A religion-free market society of individuals is simpler and more stable. It is fluid, like a colony of bacteria, adapts quickly to changes, and easily parasitizes wherever it penetrates. We have people who would like to return to this warm broth, but a warm-blooded organism cannot turn into a little ball of bacteria. It can already be seen that our sincere marketeers are a tragic section of the Russian people doomed to perish. But this is by the by.

How does this contradiction between the craving for unityon the one hand and "questing" on the other affect party building? The word "party" means "part," and so there must, in general, be several parties, for one

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party is not a party but an "assembly." A party is an instrument of modernization and, in a certain sense, an opponent of communality. Before the war, when the need for complete, total unity was instinctively felt, Stalin destroyed all traces of parties — the opposition in the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). That largely predetermined the marasmus of the late CPSU, but this was the fault of our generations. Out of necessity Stalin shifted the problem onto us, but we simply failed to notice it.

Is it possible to wish for the communists' unity today, at a time of crisis? No way. The present crisis is as if you had gone into a totally dark room and had to take a step, but you do not know if there is a floor beneath you. Today we are searching and reconnoitering. Every step poses a danger, but we have to go on. Thank you, "democrats" — they set off in one direction and clearly ended up in an impasse. This lesson cost us dearly, but lessons have to be paid for.

The communists are sending their reconnaissance patrols in another direction. For all these parties are at present no more than patrols, even the CPRF [Communist Party of the Russian Federation]. The army is the entire people. It would be a mistake today to gather all these reconnaissance groups together into a single forward detachment and send them along the same road. This is undesirable from the viewpoint of common interests (even if it were possible politically).

Why do people support the CPRF more? I believe that this is precisely because it has a looser and less definite ideology. It is less a "party" than the RCWP [Russian Communist Workers' Party], it pays more heed to the instinct of the people themselves, it is more open to questing, and its truth is less rigid. This is common sense and the "attempt not torture" ["popytka ne pytka"] principle. Is such looseness always preferable? No, only until something moves in the people's soul and people subconsciously make a choice. Then the party — a small one today — which most exactly accords with this choice will suddenly grow into a giant. The loose parties will be quite useless.

This, after all, was what happened to the Bolsheviks in the summer of 1917. And to Stalinism at the end of the twenties, when a choice was made at a crossroads within socialism. For it is nonsense to say that Stalin removed Trotskiy, Bukharin, etc. simply for the sake of power. It is sufficient to read through the minutes of all the party congresses. A tense ideological struggle was waged between various drafts and philosophies. The takeoff of the USSR and victory in the war were based on the ideological and theoretical baggage accumulated over 20 years of these debates. The contribution of the destroyed opponents was great, and without them the essence of the choice would not have been realized and the way through the minefield would not have been found.

Does this mean that, if Zyuganov and Tyulkin hold the same red flag, their programs are identical? Not at all. If people think this, then this, again, shows our ingenuousness. Gorbachev also had such a flag, and Yeltsin's was still redder. Trotskiy and Stalin? Under the same flag they decided Russia's fate in totally opposite ways. Trotskiy said: Devil take it [Russia], we will kindle a world revolution with its help, this is the chief thing. But Stalin said: Blow the revolution, let it mature itself, and let us strengthen Russia — this is the chief thing for us and for all mankind.

Is the presence of opponents in "its own camp" harmful to the CPRF? I believe that it is not only not harmful but simply essential (although it is unpleasant). The CPRF's ideology and program are created not only by Zyuganov but also by Gaydar and Anpilov — they squeeze it, mold it, and pull it from two sides. If Anpilov were not nipping at its heels, the CPRF would have been dragged off to the right.

Someone will say: If they had joined a single party, they would have formed factions within it. This is always complex, and it is possible only given a sufficient similarity of positions. Such a similarity does not exist. Moreover, politicians are in a state of excitement, their nerves have been laid bare, and they perceive many things more keenly than they ought — it is hard to agree. They are all people, not computers. In them a great deal proceeds from feeling, from intuition. In my opinion, they cannot now even formulate clearly what the differences between them are. I, for example, have not read a text with a calm, reasonable exposition of precisely the differences. And yet, as Lenin said, in order to unite, it is necessary to delimit functions (at least theoretically). How do I myself see the differences?

Let us start with what is obvious. People divide up on various grounds: ethnic, cultural, religious, sex, age, etc. Conflicts, even deadly ones, can arise along all lines of division. One of many kinds of division is the class division of society. The attitude to ownership is a sign of membership of a class. Strictly speaking, there are two classes: capitalists and proletarians. A class struggle is always being waged between them, but its forms vary — ranging from talks on the price of manpower to cold or all-out hot war. The set, virtually legitimated rules of the class struggle have already taken shape.

This is an extremely simplified "class" scheme. Division according to ownership is merely a precondition which must grow into the different culture of the two

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classes and class consciousness (according to Marx, "class within oneself" becomes "class for oneself"). Thus, in Britain the proletariat emerged following the privatization of communal lands and the driving of peasants into the cities. But, living in the city and working in the factories, it began to be aware of itself as a class only 200 years later. Even in the middle of the 19th century workers were struggling, like the peasants, "against injustice." Marx carried out impressive work on the chief thing and was unable to develop nuances. But they are very important to us today. Thus, he pointed out (and anthropologists developed only recently) the fact that at the initial stage the class struggle has the character of an ethnic, racial struggle. The capitalist must see the worker as someone of a different race, and therefore it was necessary first to go through the stage of colonialism and foster racism in yourself — otherwise you could not justify in your heart the exploitation of your own compatriot. The capitalists were colonizers in their own country.

What happened in the USSR? Everyone knows: Part of the nomenklatura entered into an alliance with the criminal world and, by using the levers of power and ideological influence, seized possession of the property of the whole people. That action was criminal, unjustified by either law, morality, or economic expediency. The appropriation of property certainly did not create an assiduous owner but ruined the economy. Who were the "bankers" who were created by Gaydar's Ministry of Finance and who cold-bloodedly robbed millions of investors? Ordinary criminals and swindlers operating under the protection of a criminal political regime. What do these plunderers of state and private property want?

Most of all they want to have the title of the **bourgeoisie** conferred upon them. Their television and press work to this end. As soon as they receive the title of the **class** of capitalists, they drop the image of thieves and traitors of the motherland. Having recognized the emergence of the bourgeoisie, we at once turn the page of history and start a totally new stage. We essentially regard the confiscation of our property as legitimate. They invite us to do this: Recognize the irreversible and embark on a class struggle against us, as is proper in any civilized society. Create trade unions and parties, enter elections, go on strike. Struggle for better conditions of exploitation or even prepare a new proletarian revolution — underground. We will struggle against you — no longer as the mafia, but as the esteemed class of bourgeois entrepreneurs.

Who is it that helps the nomenklatura thieves to achieve such desired legitimization? Only Gaydar and television? No. Despite everything, the RCWP and the whole host of orthodox Marxists are doing the same thing on the other flank. They have announced that the clash in Russia is of a class nature: working people against the bourgeoisie (albeit a criminal bourgeoisie). That we are seeing the **restoration of capitalism**, primitive accumulation, etc. All this phraseology is balm for Chubays' soul.

I will state bluntly that the privatizers' chief task at the present stage is to ensure that they are called not thieves but the bourgeoisie, albeit with class imprecations. If they achieve this, you can reckon that the thing has been done. Whatever the outcome of the elections, they keep what they have stolen. The "world community" will never allow the bourgeoisie to be expropriated. But if it is a question of a nomenklatura gang of organized thieves, no one will prevent this expropriation and the restoration of legality. It will be possible to act in accordance with the law, conscience, and expediency.

Thus, the chief task of ideology — to define the type of conflict and name the enemy — is, in my view, being resolved wrongly in the RCWP. It is not a class war that is being waged in Russia but a special kind of **fatherland** war. What does it matter if the fatherland's enemy has ended up inside it? What were the Vlasovites? And the boyars, who brought along the False Dmitriy? What does it matter if the enemies fight not with guns but with vouchers and transfers? The times are different, and the weapons are different. It was simply thieves that became Vlasovites, and not for the sake of saving their skin but for profit. They were hired to destroy the USSR and were given plants and mines in payment. For the time being.

But a fatherland war requires a quite different doctrine, strategy, and tactics from a class war! An incorrect definition of the type of war is the first step toward defeat.

Let us note an important thing: The enemy does not make the same mistake. He demands that we call him the bourgeoisie and wage a class war against him, while he assembles his own army under exclusively ethnic and racist slogans. They call themselves the "new Russians" and describe the Russian people as a whole in racist terms — this is no metaphor but a strict scientific conclusion. I will not stop reminding people what the radical "democrats" wrote in 1991, arguing about the coming civil war: "This civil war will resemble the American one, between the North and the South. **Two nations — the new Russians and the old Russians** — will fight each other. Those who are able to get acclimatized to the new epoch and those who are not ordained to do so. Although we speak the same language, we are virtually two nations." Where, here, is the designation of the enemy in class terms, as workers

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or working people? No, the enemy is the "old Russians," a different people.

You end up with something simply foolish: The enemy declares ethnic and religious war on you — an incomparably more cruel thing than a class war, and you deceive your army and say that a class war is being waged. Thus, at first our soldiers shouted from the trenches: "Comrade German workers! Don't shoot your class brothers, but turn your guns on the bourgeoisie! Rot Front!" Just 10 days later Stalin made the correct interpretation, but we have been shouting the same thing for umpteen years.

The second means of rallying which the enemy uses after racism is the biological feeling of youth. The conflict is portrayed as a "young people's rebellion." They importunately depict the communists as "toothless veterans" and threaten to "call up young people." Why the reliance on these base and primitive feelings? For they are not of long duration. Because class consciousness does not come about quickly (although it comes about more quickly among owners). It is important to Chubays and to A.N. Yakovlev to get through the present critical stage and to launch foreign proprietors more quickly into Russia as defenders of the "new Russians." They must use anything they can for a while to rally their own and to prevent us from rallying ours. If we adopt their scheme, we will spend 200 years developing the workers' class consciousness. After this time there will be no Russians left at all.

Of course, there is nothing tragic about the fact that a section of the communists makes a simplified (and, in my view, fundamentally wrong) interpretation of the essence of the conflict in Russia. It is important that this section does not hold sway. It is balanced by the CPRF, which, although it does not make a clear-cut interpretation, does not oversimplify matters either. It includes such concepts as "civilization conflict," "westernization," etc. I believe that the interpretation of complex reality proceeds more quickly here than among orthodox Marxists.

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ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 7 Dec

LD0712074095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0733 GMT 7 Dec 95

["Press Review" — ITAR-TASS headline]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 7 (Itar-Tass) — Today's Moscow-based newspapers highlight the forthcoming elections to the State Duma, the Lower House of the Russian Parliament, due to be held on December 17.

IZVESTIYA on election turnout forecasts.

Leonid Sedov, a sociologist, on the strength of the data provided by the All-Russia Institute of Public Opinion Studies, makes a forecast about the electorate in the run-up to the elections. His estimates are that the Duma elections will be notable for a higher turnout than previously: 56 percent of the electorate will go to the polls.

Sedov points out that public opinion polls indicate that the number of those who want to vote for the Women of Russia bloc has grown. Sociologists predict that the bloc will gain 27 percent of seats in a new Duma. This will be a world record of women's representation in parliaments, Sedov observes.

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI on polling among people of Russians who will find themselves abroad on election date.

In a series of reports from European capitals, the newspaper points out that approximately 400,000 compatriots will cast their votes abroad at 390 polling stations.

ROSSIYKSAYA GAZETA on business people's expected electoral preferences.

Aleksandr Tarakanov, General Director of the Sojuzkontract firm, examines the expected electoral preferences of business people, whose number and influence have considerably gronw in recent years.

PRAVDA on the need to enhance State regulation of the economy.

Yuriy Maslyukov, former Chairman of the Soviet State Planning Committee and a Communist Party candidate to run for the State Duma, in an interview with the newspaper, said about the need "to return manageability to the economy and justice to society." He said it is necessary to "restore effective management principles in a new form and in new conditions", i.e. enhance the State regulation of the economy.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA on young voters.

"The latter-day 'fathers of Russian Denocracy' will be shocked when they will learn about the results of Russia's true choice" after December 17 — runs the headline of an article quoting a letter from A. Garin, a young worker.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA on Defence Minister's visit to Israel.

The newspaper, summing up the results of the first-ever official visit to Israel by Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev, quotes the Minister as saying that "under new political conditions, we strive to develop all-round and full-blooded relations with Israel and its armed forces, while maintaining and deepening our traditional military contacts with the Arab world".

The Minister believes that Russia, which is directly interested in peace in the Middle East, may well become a coordinator of efforts towards the normalisation of relations among the states in the region, the newspaper noted.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA on Russia's attitude to NATO expansion issue.

Sergey Samuilov, Cand. of Sc. (History), answers the question as to why Russia opposes NATO expansion. His opinion is that "Reasons for that lie in the peculiarities of the Russian people's mentality which has been moulded for centuries".

In such a situation, the newspaper writes, the West's transition to a policy enlarging NATO eastward and bringing it close to Russian borders becomes one of the main causes of the resurgence of the besieged fortress syndrome primarily in the minds of the powers that be and in public opinion.

TRUD on the Pensions Bill adopted by the State Duma recently.

In a sharp-worded article, the newspaper seeks to explain to people concerned what is new in the suggested procedure for the calculation and recalculation of pensions, the merits and demertis of the Bill. If the new pensions law enters into force, the elderly people will be in for new adversities, the newspaper maintains.

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Russia Concerned With Fate of Sarajevo Serbs

LD0612144695 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1257 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 6 (INTERFAX) — Russia is concerned about the fate of Sarajevo Serbs and may support France's proposal to provide them with certain security guarantees, but is against any revision of the Dayton peace accords, a high-ranking Foreign Ministry official told INTERFAX on Wednesday.

He said this issue is most likely to be raised at the next round of the international conference on the former Yugoslavia to be held in London on December 8-9. The Russian delegation to the conference will be led by Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev.

The diplomat disagreed that the Serbs may refuse to sign the Dayton accords in Paris on December 14 because of the disagreements over the status of Sarajevo. "I don't think it will get to that," he said.

Sarajevo's Serbs intend to hold a referendum just two days before the Paris meeting, on December 12, to decide the status of the Serb districts of the capital of the Muslim-Croat Federation.

"Moscow regards any revision of the Dayton accords, including those concerning the status of Sarajevo, as inadmissible," the official said.

At the same time, he noted that "Russia and other Contact Group members (which includes Russia, the United States, Britain, France and Germany) will not object to decisions which may be worked out by the warring parties on a compromise basis."

'Resentment' Seen Behind French Pro-Serbism

MM0612153495 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Dec 95 p 2

[Report by Yuriy Kovalenko: "Aggrieved at America, the French Take the Side of the Serbs"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Paris — The French call the Bosnian Muslims "Turks" and "mojahedin" and various offensive names from their rich racist arsenal. But matters are not limited to racist attacks.

French soldiers stationed in Sarajevo as part of the UN peacekeeping force, headed by General Jean-Rene Bachelet, are effectively trying to torpedo the Bosnian peace agreement, which will be officially signed in Paris 14 December.

They have openly taken the side of Serbs living in Sarajevo, defending their interests, and acting as their advisers on a wide range of questions, including the art of softening up the Western mass media — first and foremost television — with propaganda.

The French military asserts that it will not allow the mass exodus of Serbs from the Bosnian capital, since this exodus would carry the risk of armed clashes with Muslims, which would inevitably lead to casualties among the "blue helmets."

The French are jeopardizing the peace process, British officers in the UN forces warn. They are goading the Sarajevo Serbs into confrontation.

"The Dayton peace agreement on Bosnia is driving us into a corner," Gen. Bachelet states with soldierly bluntness. "For the local Serbs it means a choice between the suitcase and the grave — we will not allow this...." And the general proposes modifications to this agreement.

Two other generals are showing solidarity with J.R. Bachelet — Janvier, the commander of chief of the UN forces in Bosnia, and de Laprelle, military adviser to the European Union's mediator Karl Bildt.

However, the French military chiefs would hardly have allowed themselves to issue such inflammatory statements without receiving the "OK" from higher instances — they call the Army here "the great mute."

In his recent message to Bill Clinton, President Jacques Chirac himself expressed regret over the fact that the Dayton agreement, in his opinion, does not provide sufficient guarantees for the Sarajevo Serbs.

True, French Defense Minster Charles Millon has just verbally repudiated his general, Bachelet, summoning him to Paris for a carpeting. But this is evidently a gesture designed to soothe Washington and Western public opinion somewhat.

The generals' loud statements in support of the Serbs are to be explained by the historical ties between the two countries, which were "brothers-in-arms" in two world wars. However, essentially, they reflect France's' bitter resentment against the United States.

Having entirely excluded Paris and the other Western capitals from the concluding phase of the peace talks, the Americans have appropriated the victor's laurels on which the EU countries had counted. Now the Europeans do not want Washington to be in charge of all peacekeeping operations in Bosnia.

Hence Paris, by acting as the guarantor of Serb interests, is trying to play a special role in Bosnia. Be that as it may, the conflict between France and the United States, the U.S. INTERNATIONAL HERALD

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TRIBUNE stresses, is complicating the implementation of NATO's peacekeeping mission in this country.

The Bosnians, of course, are indignant over Paris' pro-Serbian sympathies. They are asking for the French peacekeeping soldiers in Sarajevo to be replaced by Americans.

Rationale Behind '16 Plus 1' Bosnia Formula Questioned

MK0612150795 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian
No. 84, 3-10 Dec 95 (Signed to press 5 Dec 95) p 5

[Analysis by Aleksandr Pikayev, political scientist: "Some Questions to the Authors of True and Cock-and-Bull Stories"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The agreements reached last week between Russia and NATO, which open the way to participation by a Russian contingent in the peace implementation mission in Bosnia, have formally put an end to the acute disputes about military control over the operation and about who will command the Russian soldiers. Both Brussels and the Kremlin do not hide their satisfaction with this compromise. It is even described as a new chapter in consolidating the strategic partnership between NATO and Russia.

It seems that it has indeed proved possible to freeze the alarming trend toward the deterioration of relations between Russia and the West that emerged in the summer-fall period of this year. Moscow reaffirmed its commitment to the quest for mutually acceptable solutions and managed to place the strategic line toward partnership with the alliance above the current disagreements.

The question, however, arises: Will the Brussels agreements not become a continuation of the policy that compromised itself in 1992-1993, when for the sake of rapprochement with the civilized world Russia too readily agreed to unequal compromises or made obviously one-sided concessions? Apart from the fact that this damaged the country's interests, excessive acquiescence served as a major cause for the subsequent crisis in relations with the West. The latter quickly grew accustomed to hearing "yes" from Russia and clearly counted on Moscow's easy agreement on all other points, be it NATO expansion or the bombing of Bosnia. Meanwhile, the Kremlin's timid hints at a possible "no" were perceived almost as a manifestation of revanchism in Russian policy.

It seems that this time around a "yes" has been received from Moscow on all problems that matter to NATO. The alliance has managed to avoid a potentially unpleasant Russian veto at the Security Council on transferring to Brussels a UN mandate for restoring order in Bosnia. Russia's participation will allow NATO, which held openly pro-Croatian and pro-Muslim positions, to divert charges that the North Atlantic peacekeepers will preserve their bias against the Bosnian Serbs. Moscow's consent also helped the Clinton Administration to win approval for sending U.S. troops to the Balkans from the Republican leaders who control Congress.

Finally, the cunning system of political and military oversight of the operation leaves Russia with only an advisory capacity. This will, of course, bring certain inconveniences to the NATO command, which will have to listen to Russian complaints and accusations. Brussels, however, will retain the real monopoly on decisionmaking.

What has Russia gotten now? The possibility to show its flag an extra time and to reaffirm its status as an influential power? But influential powers do not place their soldiers under the command of military alliances of which they are not members. Nor is it clear why, in order to demonstrate the flag, 1,500-2,000 military servicemen have to be sent to Bosnia and why a battalion or a field hospital would not do the trick?

On the positive side, it is mentioned that Russia, the only non-NATO country among the participants in the operation, was given the right to take part in the "16 plus 1" consultative mechanism created especially for it. Many in Moscow must really find this pleasant. But, emotions apart, the "16 plus 1" scheme, which gives little to Moscow in the way of influencing the alliance's policy, in effect drives a wedge between it and the states left outside the mechanism. This rather weakens than strengthens Russia's positions, as it does the positions of other non-NATO member states, preventing the working out of a common point of view or standing up to Brussels' dictate.

It is also said that a Russian presence will be conducive to a better reflection of Serb interests in implementing the peace agreements. In practice, however, it is not clear whether General Shevtsov's veto can prevent the execution of a NATO command decision to use the Russian contingent in an operation against the Bosnian Serbs should they, for instance, refuse to accept the unfair terms of a future arbitration ruling on the transfer of the town of Brcko, located, incidentally, in the Russian zone of responsibility, to the control of the Muslim-Croat Federation. Should this happen, the last vestiges of Moscow's former influence over the Serbs will disappear without a trace, and it will once and for all lose an independent role in the Balkans.

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In a broader sense, did people in the Kremlin calculate the internal political losses caused by the participation of Russian troops in military operations against the Serb Republic? Can the authorities hope for an acceptable outcome of the presidential elections if, in addition to Chechnya, "Cargo 200" [zinc coffins] also starts arriving from Bosnia? And finally, are they aware of the entire threat to relations with the West in the event the Russian contingent de facto goes outside the NATO command?

The authorities will have to work very hard to prove that in Brussels they have managed to find a way out of the crisis respectable for themselves and for Russia. Otherwise, these agreements could follow the fate of an increasing number of unimplemented treaties, and the present administration will lose its last chance to draw lessons from past mistakes.

Army Paper Notes Solana's Change of Mind on NATO

MM0612164395 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Dec 95 p 3

[Report by Vadim Markushin: "Cautious and Convenient. A Few Words About the Ninth NATO Secretary General"]

[FBIS Translated Text] So, once again there is a socialist on the NATO throne. Javier Solana, Spain's current minister of foreign affairs and chairman of the EU Council of Ministers, joined the Socialist Party while still a student, when the dictator Franco ruled the country. He was expelled from university for participating in the movement against the regime, and he completed his studies abroad. While Franco was still alive, however, in 1975, he became the head of a department of Madrid University. It is claimed that it was during those years that Solana was vehemently opposed to Spain's joining NATO.

The 53-year-old politician has many years' experience of work in legislative and executive structures. Becoming a member of parliament for the Socialist Party in 1977, he has subsequently invariably obtained ministerial posts in all the Gonzalez governments: culture, education, foreign affairs. On becoming head of the Spanish diplomatic service, Solana changed his attitude to NATO.

Those who have met Solana personally emphasize his reserved nature, the cautiousness of his assessments, and his ability to get on with people of diametrically opposite temperaments and views. The new NATO secretary general has formed a confiding relationship with U.S. Secretary of State Christopher — which did, of course, have an effect on the choice made.

Perry 'Assures' Baltic States on NATO 'Expansion'

MM0612150795 Moscow TRUD in Russian 6 Dec 95 p 6

[Report by Yuriy Stroganov: "Impatient Applicants. On U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry's Tour of the Baltic Countries"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Vilnius — U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry recently visited Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania following in the footsteps of his German counterpart Defense Minister Volker Ruehe (see TRUD 30 September 1995). The Baltic countries, which have stated their desire to join NATO, wanted Perry to tell them when this is going to happen. That was the main theme in conversations with the American. In view of the Kremlin's special position on the question of NATO's eastward expansion, W. Perry was quite diplomatic. It will take time, he said: The process of joining NATO is not simple. Even after the bloc makes its decision, it will then have to be approved by the parliaments of the 16 NATO member states and that, he pointed out, is a "long and sometimes contradictory process." He cited five criteria which the candidates must meet — progress on the path toward democracy, progress in building a market economy, the establishment of civilian control over the Armed Forces, and progress toward ensuring the compatibility of national armed forces with the NATO armed forces. And finally the settlement of conflicts with neighboring states. The U.S. defense secretary repeatedly stressed the need to take Russia's interests into account.

It is a paradoxical situation: In order to join NATO they need good relations with their neighbor, that is Russia, although NATO's expansion as far as Russia's borders is necessary to strengthen regional security.

One condition for direct entry into NATO is a properly trained army. Some transatlantic sergeants recently arrived in Lithuania to train Lithuanian junior NCOs in the secrets of combat. The Pentagon's military specialists have conducted courses at the republic's general staff. The U.S. military sent a large consignment of personal gear and equipment to Latvia at the start of the year. Similar cooperation is going on with Estonia. The eminent guest expressed the hope that aid to the east will be increased in the new U.S. military budget. Lithuania, for example, would like a tripling of the number of its cadets at West Point (at present only 10 Lithuanian officers are undergoing military training across the ocean).

The Baltic countries have quite a few problems to resolve before NATO member status is acquired, the transatlantic visitor stressed. They include the imple-

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mentation of economic reforms and the stabilization of the social situation. The lack of political stability in Lithuania, the dispute between Riga and Vilnius over the Baltic oil deposit, and the scandals in Estonia's military structures connected with arms trading and financial violations are not conducive to the instant realization of the dream. Nevertheless, these and the other barriers are no more than details. The main thing is that the Baltic countries received from the U.S. defense secretary a firm assurance that NATO will expand eastward and understood from his comments that the alliance already has one foot in the Baltic region because the three countries are already regarded as potential NATO members.

U.S. Journal Cited on Clinton-Yeltsin 'Secret Deal'

MM0612155595 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Dec 95 p 3

[Report by Vladimir Nadein: "Monumental [planetarnyy] Duplicity. A U.S. Journal Reports a Secret Deal Between Boris Yeltsin and Bill Clinton"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Washington — Clinton and Yeltsin have concluded a secret deal. In exchange for the Russians' participation in the Bosnian peacekeeping the White House has promised to postpone the question of enlarging NATO. This claim is contained in the December issue of the journal NATIONAL REVIEW, which will soon be published.

Citing materials received "from official and authoritative sources," Peter Rodman, the journal's senior editor, exposes what he calls "a strategic mistake on an historic scale." He writes: "NATIONAL REVIEW has learned of the staggering duplicity shown by the Clinton administration with regard to Russia, Bosnia, and the North Atlantic alliance. The President and his staffers have reportedly given Moscow secret assurances that in exchange for its cooperation in the Bosnian peacekeeping the enlargement of NATO will be left 'on the back burner' for the foreseeable future."

But this, according to Rodman, is not the full extent of Clinton's concessions. In the event of his reelection for a second term he will "treat with understanding problems such as the restoration of Russian control over the near abroad (Central Asia and the Caucasus, including the oil-rich Caspian basin). [quotation mark as published]

The author of the article, a former high-ranking expert on international relations in the Republican administrations of Reagan and Bush, is now not only senior editor of this superconservative journal but also a staffer of the Nixon Center for Peace and Freedom, which was set up not so long ago. Foreign policy ideas are formulated there for pre-election use by Republican candidates. They are primarily meant for Bob Dole.

Will Senator Dole, who has a reputation as a solid politician, want to take advantage of the journal's sensational finds? Not now, in any case. For the time being Dole has decided not to oppose the participation of U.S. ground forces in the Bosnian peacekeeping. After grumbling a bit for the sake of decency, he has nonetheless set about preparing for the Senate a resolution in support of the administration.

Washington is no place for naive simpletons. Dole's step was dictated by a clear-cut design. If the Americans' involvement in ending the Yugoslav war ends in success, he, the Republicans' chief candidate, is its coauthor. But if failure ensues and the number of losses exceeds the invisible limit of public tolerance, it is never too late to give the administration a hiding.

At present only one-third of Americans approve of sending troops to Bosnia. This is clearly not enough for Clinton, but the situation is being rectified, albeit slowly. Former Presidents Ford and Bush have joined the approving minority. Both Republicans, they consider the decisions of Democrat Clinton to be justified and legitimate.

The White House has greeted these statements with understandable joy. At the same time as Press Secretary McCurry was thanking the ex-presidents, their successor Bill Clinton was conducting a touching conversation in the Oval Office with three families who have left Bosnia and moved to the United States.

The official authorities have not yet reacted in any way to the NATIONAL REVIEW article, maybe because the December issue is formally still being worked on. But a scandal will hardly break even after the journal reaches the readers. At least, not until weighty proof is provided from "official and authoritative sources," as former expert P. Rodman brags.

Meanwhile, journalists have been told at the Pentagon that the main events relating to the sending of troops will get under way the fourth day after the treaty is signed in Paris 14 December. By that time NATO should have taken over command from the UN armed forces. Precisely 30 days after the transfer of the command NATO must have on the spot at least half of the planned 60,000-strong contingent. Only then will it be possible to embark on real actions to disengage the Serbs on the one hand and the Croats and Muslims on the other.

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Protests Staged at Russian, Dutch Embassies in Jakarta

LD0712093195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0917 GMT 7 Dec 95

[By Andrey Bychkov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] JAKARTA, December 7 (ITAR-TASS) — Advocates of East Timor's integration into Indonesia are today staging demonstrations at the Russian and Dutch embassies in Jakarta. The situation has come to a head around the Dutch embassy, ITAR-TASS has learned from trustworthy sources.

Approximately 75 people, brought to the walls of the Dutch embassy in a bus, are calling on the 55 East Timorese, opponents of the island's integration into Indonesia, to leave the Dutch embassy, where they had found asylum. These Timorese climbed over the fence of the embassy today and demanded a meeting with the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights Jose Ayala Lasso, who is now in Jakarta.

The demonstrators threaten to break into the embassy's territory and to drag out the "dissidents". Some of the activists have climbed up to the roof of the building where the embassy's guards are posted. The police have not interfered in the events so far.

A similar demonstration is now under way outside the Russian embassy, where 58 East Timorese have found asylum. However, the situation there is calm, a Russian diplomat told ITAR-TASS by telephone.

A Russian representative called at the Indonesian Foreign Ministry to inform its leadership about the situation. He told ITAR-TASS that the Timorese, who had found asylum in the Russian embassy, plan to hand a petition to representatives of the United Nations and the International Red Cross, outlining their stand on the East Timor problem.

Russian Consul-General Fedor Poselyanov said that the Indonesian Foreign Ministry had expressed its desire to settle the problem "peacefully, without violence and hullabaloo". The point is that two of the East Timorese, who are now on the territory of the embassy, have threatened to burn themselves if force was used to oust them. They have a can of gasoline with them.

Today is exactly twenty years since Indonesia's invasion of East Timor. It was the first step towards Indonesia's annexation of this former Portuguese colony. Jakarta is accused of violating human rights in East Timor. The United Nations still regards Portugal as a country entitled to administer that island.

Petition Handed to UN Representative

LD0712124895 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1230 GMT 7 Dec 95

[By Andrey Bychkov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] JAKARTA, December 7 (ITAR-TASS) — The 58 East Timor "dissidents", who found asylum at the Russian embassy here today morning, have handed a petition to a representative of the United Nations, demanding that the U.N. should "make practical progress towards the solution of the East Timor problem", ITAR-TASS was told by a Russian diplomat, who is taking part in these contacts at the Russian embassy in Jakarta.

The United Nations representative promised to notify Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas and U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights Jose Ayalo Lasso, who is currently visiting Indonesia and who has toured East Timor, about the demands of the "dissidents".

The latter claim that, in spite of the ongoing talks between Indonesia and Portugal (East Timor used to be a Portuguese colony) no concrete steps towards the settlement of the East Timor issue were made so far. Several rounds of the Portuguese-Indonesian talks have already taken place, but without any tangible results. Indonesia claims that the East Timor population had made its "choice" in 1976, while Portugal insists on a referendum to decide the future of the province. Indonesia had invaded East Timor on December 7 and announced its "inclusion" in Indonesia seven months later.

The diplomat said that the East Timor "dissidents" had made no other demands and had not asked for political asylum. Their declared goal is "not only to attract attention to the East Timor problem, but to secure concrete actions from the United Nations".

The East Timor "dissidents" are still staying in the squating [as received] in the compounds of the Russian embassy.

Japanese 'Not Overjoyed' That Premier To Visit Moscow

MM0712114995 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Dec 95 p 3

[Report by Sergey Agafonov: "Japanese Premier Plans to Drop in on Moscow in April"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tokyo — In his schedule of foreign trips next year Japanese government head Prime Minister Murayama has reserved April for a visit to Moscow.

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Grachev, PRC's Liu Huaquin Meet; Arms Trade Increases

LD0612181295 Moscow NTV in Russian 1600 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In Moscow today, Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev met Liu Huaquin, deputy chairman of China's Central Military Commission.

[Grachev, greeting Liu] You get younger every day!

[Liu] [Passage indistinct].

[Correspondent Aleksandr Khabarov] The generals have managed to get to know one another well recently. Following the 1993 purchase of a large consignment of Russian Su-27 and MiG-31 fighters, Chinese military specialists have been frequent visitors to Moscow. Despite the diffuse preamble to today's meeting, the main issue is said still to be the arms trade. Only last year China allocated $5 billion toward buying various types of military equipment in Russia. The Chinese have already bought the S-300 missile complex, 500 T-80 tanks, and 4 Varshavyanka-class diesel submarines — which, because of their silent qualities, have been nicknamed the "black hole in the West."

Today, Beijing is mainly interested in Russian technology for manufacturing the latest types of weaponry. This issue is expected to be finally settled during Boris Yeltsin's upcoming visit to China, and today's meeting may well be a sort of preparation for this trip.

Meanwhile, China's desire to arm itself as well as possible is seriously worrying both Western observers and its regional neighbors. At the time, the supply of the noiseless Varshavyanka submarines all but caused an international scandal. Observers are afraid Beijing is working on the idea of recovering the huge chunks of territory it lost half a century ago, and claiming control over the main sea routes in the South China Sea, through which oil is transported to Japan from the Middle East. The Chinese have already managed to frighten the Japanese this summer by sending a couple of fighters purchased from Russia to the shores of Japan.

Grachev, Israelis Discussed Islamic Fundamentalism

MM0712102095 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 7 Dec 95 p 1

[Report by Pavel Anokhin: "Pavel Grachev: Do Not Divide the Near East Into Ours and Theirs"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Moscow — Russian Defense Minister Army General Pavel Grachev completed his official visit to Israel 5 December. During the visit a Memorandum of Mutual Understanding between the Defense Ministries of the Russian Federation and Israel on Questions of Military Cooperation and a Program of Contacts between the two states' military departments for 1996-1997 were signed.

The visit is significant primarily because it is the first in the history of relations between Russia and Israel and has finally closed the chapter of senseless isolation and alienation between the two states "born (in the words of Israeli Prime Minister and Defense Minister Shim'on Peres) to be friends."

The Russian defense minister's visit to a state whose population consists to a considerable extent of immigrants from Russia caused keen interest among state leaders, politicians, military people, business circles, and the public not only in Russia and Israel. Some Arab journalists' commentaries sounded a note of alarm over the "special relationship" which has developed, so a number of the Russian mass media have reported, between Russia and Israel. This prompted Pavel Grachev to put the record straight right away. "In the new political realities we are seeking to develop full, all-around relations with Israel and its Armed Forces while preserving and deepening our traditional ties with the Arab world," he stressed in conversation with Russian journalists covering the official visit. "The Near East countries can no longer be divided into ours and theirs. Only an even-handed, balanced policy on the part of the world's leading states can defuse the tension in the Near East region."

The Russian defense minister also explained that "the Russian military delegation did not propose a new system of regional security to Israel during the talks." No such concept yet exists, he said, just as no state has put forward an initiative or "taken the lead in creating such a system in this region." Russia, he said, is ready to help remove the problems between the states of the region, first and foremost between Israel and Syria and Iran.

The so-called military-technical cooperation has also prompted much conjecture. The Israelis rate highly certain modifications of Russian tanks and aircraft and are proposing to equip such weapons with Israeli electronics and sell them to third countries. According to Israeli specialists this kind of business will not only be a big money spinner but will also boost the development of new technologies in Russia. According to Pavel Grachev, these proposals are very promising. Nevertheless, the documents which have been signed propose so far merely an exchange of defense ministry delegations, military history specialists, ensembles, and sports teams.

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But the upcoming trip has little to do with Russian-Japanese bilateral relations: The main thing that brings the Japanese premier to the Russian capital is the upcoming international meeting on problems of nuclear security and nuclear energy, planned for April in Moscow. VIP's are expected to come to the forum, the list being headed by U.S. President Clinton, so the Japanese government head does not want to be seen to be shunning the high-level assembly.

The Japanese side apparently is not overjoyed at the choice of Moscow as venue for the event, but there is nothing it can do about it. It is said in Tokyo that the inevitable meeting between Murayama and Russian President Yeltsin in April will be brief and will not develop into full-scale bilateral talks on vital issues, and no signing of official documents is envisaged. But the Japanese intend to make detailed preparations even for a brief conversation, and in this connection it is not inconceivable that there will be an intermediate preparatory meeting at foreign minister level to arrange the scenario for the upcoming summit contact.

What the Japanese will include in this scenario it is hard to say at the moment, although there are rumors that the Japanese cabinet head will talk about support for market reforms in Russia, about the need to resolve the territorial dispute, and about the intolerable practice of shooting at Japanese fishermen.

According to available information, the Japanese have been seriously concerned of late about the activation of Russian-Chinese military links, and above all the sale of Russian military technology to China, opening up the possibility of China's actually manufacturing and assembling Su-27 fighters and other types of high-technology modern weapons which could qualitatively change not only the potential of the Chinese armed forces but the strategic balance in the region. Although the "Chinese threat" has not yet entered the official vocabulary, it is not inconceivable that Japanese concern about this will be voiced in one form or another during the April meeting.

Japanese Minister Denies Moscow Visit

LD0712115895 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1053 GMT 7 Dec 95

[By Vasiliy Golovnin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] TOKYO, December 7 (ITAR-TASS) — Japanese Foreign Minister Yohei Kono has no plans to visit Moscow in April 1996. Reports about the planned visit that appeared here were refuted by a spokesman of the Japanese Foreign Ministry in a conversation with ITAR-TASS. There has been no decision about the trip nor specific plans for new talks of the Foreign Ministers, the spokesman said.

Kono said he saw no sense in attempts to speed up the talks with Russia on the sovereignty over the South Kurils. He said this on Wednesday [6 December] during hearings in the Commission of the lower house of parliament on the affiars of Okinawa and Northern territories. A representative of the Secretariat of the lower house of parliament confirmed to ITAR-TASS on Thursday the general trend of the Minister's pronouncements but refused to supply the minutes.

According to the existing information, Kono told the commission that the administrations in both countries had no sufficient political influence at present for effective negotiations on the territorial issues. Kono also expressed doubts if it was appropriate to speed up such contacts in the run-up to the elections to the Russian State Duma. In this connection the Minister said that being Russia's neighbour, Japan could not but be concerned over the mounting of "nationalist and great power" attitudes in Russia.

Russia Focus of Attention of Japanese Defense Policy

MM0612152195 Moscow TRUD in Russian 6 Dec 95 p 1

[Report by Erik Alekseyev: "Seeking the Enemy Again?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Why is cooperation developing extremely sluggishly, to put it mildly, between such close neighbors as Russia and Japan? One reason can surely be found in the words of Masahiro Akiyama, defense policy chief of the Japan National Defense Agency.

Addressing a news conference to explain the government's new program for the development of the country's Armed Forces, he stated that from the viewpoint of Japan's security "its main attention is now focused on Russia, then the Korean peninsula, and after that China and the situation in the Asia region as a whole." "Military modernization and the strengthening of combat might are going on" everywhere, Akiyama said.

But as we can see, if you add up the "threat-bearing" factors which have prompted Japan's new program of military organization and development, Russia is still top of the list. Incidentally, Japan now ranks second in the world after the United States in terms of scale of appropriations for military purposes, which total around $50 billion a year.

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Answering your ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI correspondent's question, Pavel Grachev said that during the talks with the Israeli side there was an exchange of information on questions of militant Islamic fundamentalism's infiltration of the territory of the two states and of states bordering Russia and Israel. However, no joint documents or agreements have been signed.

In conversation with Russian journalists, Pavel Grachev mentioned his forthcoming visit to Minsk. He said that the visit has already been planned, the documents have been prepared, and "six main documents will be signed at defense-minister level alone."

Russia Hopes To Ensure Humanitarian Aid to Iraq

LD0612155095 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1257 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 6 (INTERFAX) — Moscow "does not intend to stop its efforts" to ensure supply of humanitarian aid to Iraq, director of the Middle East and North Africa Department under Russia's Foreign Ministry Andrey Vdovin said in a Wednesday interview with INTERFAX.

He commented on the activity of the U.N. Committee on sanctions against Iraq, which did not give permission for a Russian aircraft to fly to Baghdad. Medicines and food products, including insulin and children's dry milk, were aboard the plane.

To this effect Vdovin underlined that "it is necessary to make humanitarian aid to Iraq more active due to the present difficult humanitarian situation and calamities faced by the population." He said "the international community must treat the situation with understanding."

"This does not violate the regime of sanctions against Iraq," he noted.

For his part, Iraq's Public Health Minister Umid Mubarak said at a press conference in Baghdad that "he was struck" by the actions of the U.N. Committee on sanctions with respect to the Russian aircraft, which was to deliver humanitarian cargo to the Iraqi population last Friday.

According to the press release of the Iraqi News Agency in Moscow, Mubarak, in particular, reported that several Arab countries and organizations also expressed readiness to render humanitarian aid to Baghdad.

For details see INTERFAX Diplomatic Panorama of December 6.

Russia, Ukraine Discuss Strategic Bomber Transfer

LD0612175895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1617 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 6 (INTERFAX) — Russian and Ukrainian air force negotiators in Moscow on December 4 and 5 discussed the transfer of a group of strategic bombers from Ukraine to Russia.

An officer in the Russian Air Force Command told INTERFAX Wednesday that the two sides have agreed that documents will be drafted for the talks, scheduled for December 25, between delegations of the Defense Ministries of the two countries.

He also said that the experts had agreed on the procedure of payment for the transfer. "Moscow will supply aviation hardware worth half of the total and the remainder will be subtracted from the Ukrainian debt to Russia," he explained.

The two sides have not agreed on the way to determine the price of the aircraft. Views on this issue will be exchanged by the working groups, the officer said.

He added that an intergovernmental agreement, expected to be signed early next year, will seal the transfer.

At the first stage 10 Tu-160s and 15 Tu-95MSs and nearly 400 cruise missiles will be transferred to Russia. The missiles will be flown by Russian Air Force transport planes, the officer said.

According to the officer, the Russian Air Force Command wants the entire group of 19 Tu-160s and 25 Tu-95MSs transferred to Russia.

Yeltsin Sends Condolences to Aliyev on Plane Crash

LD0712115295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1009 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 7 (ITAR-TASS) — Russian President Boris Yeltsin sent a message to Azeri President Heydar Aliyev. The message expresses profound condolences over a plane crash in Nakhichevan that caused loss of life. The Russian President's press service reported this on Thursday. Yeltsin expressed compassion for the bereaved families.

A Tu-134 passenger airliner of the Azeri airlines state concern making a flight on Nakhichevan-Baku route crashed near Nakhichevan airport on Tuesday [5 December] evening. According to reports from Azerbaijan, 49 people got killed and 33 injured in the crash.

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Political Issues

Yeltsin Talks With Grachev, Shumeyko; Meets Aide

LD0712105395 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0955 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 7 Dec (ITAR-TASS) — Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev reported by telephone to Russian President Boris Yeltsin today on the results of his visit to Israel and his talks there. The conversation also touched on participation by a Russian military contingent in the multinational operation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This was reported by the president's press service.

The report received by ITAR-TASS says that there was another telephone conversation between Yeltsin and Federation Council Chairman Vladimir Shumeyko. They discussed implementation of the federal law which was signed by the Russian president on Tuesday and which defines the procedure for the formation of the Federation Council.

Boris Yeltsin met with his aide Anatoliy Korabelshchikov today. Problems of regional policy and the progress of the election campaign in Russia were discussed.

Yeltsin Approves Program To Restore Chechen Economy

LD0712082995 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0800 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin has signed a decree on a federal target program to restore the Chechen republic's economy and its social infrastructure in 1996.

The document sets out that work to restore facilities in the areas of housing, education, health, trade, transport, and culture will be completed. It is planned to restore industrial facilities during the coming year and to complete the program of compensatory payments for the loss of housing and property.

It is also planned to restore the system of television and radio broadcasting in the Chechen republic and to broaden the publication range of newspapers and journals.

The president's plenipotentiary representative in Chechnya has been entrusted with control over the fulfillment of the decree.

Yeltsin Signs Edict on Federal Communications System

LD0712105795 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1717 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 6 Dec (ITAR-TASS) — President Boris Yeltsin signed an edict today "On a single system of federal executive bodies in the sphere of communications in the Russian Federation." The edict defines in particular that the single system of federal executive bodies in the sphere of communications comprises: the Ministry of Communications of the Russian Federation, the federal agency of government communications and information under the president of the Russian Federation, the federal service of postal communications of the Russian Federation, and the state courier communication service of the Russian Federation.

This is stated in a report from the president's press service.

Yeltsin Rejects Criminal Code; Notes Crime Omissions

LD0612175295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1656 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 6 (ITAR-TASS) — Russian President Boris Yeltsin rejected on Wednesday a new Criminal Code and a law enacting it.

Both were approved by the State Duma on November 24, 1995.

The president of Russia has adopted a difficult decision, a statement issued by the presidential press service on Wednesday said.

But the president cannot afford to endanger the law enforcement system and put it at risk. Such a risk did exist because it was proposed to enact the Criminal Code without properly tying it up with the criminal procedural legislation, it said.

It was this argument — to ward off even a danger of legislative gridlock where it would be practically impossible to institute criminal proceedings — that became the main reason for the adoption of this decision, the statement said.

In his letter to the State Duma, Yeltsin expressed surprise at the absence of a number of crimes from the Criminal Code, including acts hindering journalists from the fulfillment of their legal professional duties.

Speaking at a democratic press forum on October 1, the president described the absence of an article dealing

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with such crimes as "either the lawmakers' negligence or their aversion to the free press."

Yeltsin suggested setting up a reconciliation committee to work out a compromise version of the Criminal Code.

Yeltsin Warns Tax Laws Unfair to Middle-Class

LD0612181195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1617 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 6 (INTERFAX) — President Boris Yeltsin in a letter to State Duma speaker Ivan Rybkin warned that proposed changes to taxation legislation may weight unfairly against middle-income taxpayers compared to the most wealthy, the presidential press service told INTERFAX.

"In the light of inflation, the growth of the tax in absolute terms calculated at the proposed rate will not be consistent with the actual increase in the incomes of the middle-income bracket," Yeltsin wrote.

He calls for reconsidering those provisions of the amendments that had been rejected by the State Duma but could help overcome the drawbacks of the amendments.

Text of Yeltsin Edict on Forming Federation Council

LD0612172795 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1104 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 6 Dec (ITAR-TASS) — Russian President Boris Yeltsin has signed a federal law, "On the procedure for the formation of the Russian Federal Assembly Federation Council." The law was adopted by the Russian State Duma on 5 December. Below is the full text of the law.

"Article 1. The Federal Assembly Federation Council will have as its members two representatives from each component part of the Russian Federation — the head of the legislative body and the head of the executive body of state power.

"Article 2. The two chambers of the legislature of the Russian Federation's component part will make a joint decision on who is to represent it in the Federation Council.

"Article 3. The election of the heads of the components of Russian state power executive bodies must be completed by not later than December 1996.

"Article 4. The present federal law will be enforced from 13 December 1995."

Due to the fact that the question of the procedure for the formation of the Federation Council has been resolved, President Yeltsin has issued a directive, recalling an appeal sent to the Constitutional Court regarding the issue that was sent there earlier, a report by the presidential press service received by ITAR-TASS today says. In the opinion of the press service, a constitutional crisis which could have arisen after the parliamentary elections if this law had not existed has now been avoided.

Yeltsin Withdraws Query to Court

LD0612152795 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0808 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 6 Dec (ITAR-TASS) — Now that the issue of the procedure for forming the Federation Council has been resolved, Russian President Boris Yeltsin has given instructions that the query sent to the Constitutional Court regarding this issue should be withdrawn, states a report from the head of state's press service received by ITAR-TASS today.

Boris Yeltsin signed the federal law "On the Procedure for Forming the Federation Council of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation" which was adopted by the State Duma on 5 December this year, once the veto of the Federation Council had been overriden. A constitutional crisis was thereby avoided which might have occurred after the elections, if there were no such law, the report by the Russian President's Press Service notes.

Court Rejects Request for Ruling

LD0712140595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1331 GMT 7 Dec 95

[By Igor Belsky]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 7 (ITAR-TASS) — The Russian Constitutional Court today turned down all the earlier filed requests for a ruling on certain provisions in the Russian law concerning the procedure of formation of the upper house of parliament called the Federation Council and recent interpretations thereof.

Constitutional Court Chairman Vladimir Tumanov announced the decision today putting an end to the long-drawn controversy between the State Duma lower house, the Federation Council upper house and President Boris Yeltsin.

The State Duma had challenged the right of the Federation Council to be formed rather than elected by direct public vote, but the final version signed into law by President Yeltsin seeks to combine the two principles.

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Chernomyrdin Defends Record in Government

MM0612165095 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 6 Dec 95 p 1

[Prime Minister V. Chernomyrdin replies to questions from unidentified journalist; place and date not given: "I Am For the Market, But Not For a Bazaar"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Journalist] In one of your first statements as premier you said, in particular, the following: "I am for the market, but not for a bazaar. I am for reforms, but not at the price of the mass impoverishment of the population." Do you think that you have carried these ideas into effect?

[Chernomyrdin] In my opinion, our lives are not long enough to realize all the ideas for reforming the Russian economy on the basis of market relations in their entirety. The essence of the problem is that, when you encounter a monolith which does not easily submit to treatment — and the mountain chain of the unprofitable and loss-making Soviet economy is such a monolith — you have several ways of coping with it. Either you arrange an explosion of terrible force, with shrapnel and debris, or you slowly and diligently, with patience and restraint, use more thorough and sparing techniques for structural transformations.

Moreover, the transition from the "everything is forbidden" to the "everything is possible" sphere of relations is accompanied by the excesses of abuse, criminalization, and permissiveness, which create a more aggressive section of society, as a result of which its law-abiding and less susceptible part primarily suffers. In this sense we have succeeded in averting an explosion and in transforming the monolith we inherited without the use of dynamite.

Catastrophes such as a total shutdown of production, mass unemployment, wholesale starvation, and the like have not occurred and now, I think, will not occur. In this way, I suggest, we are carrying into effect some of the basic ideas connected with achieving equilibrium in the country.

[Journalist] What is the most important lesson that you have learned as premier?

[Chernomyrdin] Think of the person who will come to this job after you, and do not leave him insurmountable obstacles.

[Journalist] Are you satisfied with Russia's relations with the West?

[Chernomyrdin] We should understand that we cannot expect special altruism. But it is possible to achieve many beneficial things in the framework of observing mutual interests. You know of our keen interest in investments aimed at the structural reorganization of the Russian economy, but we understand that in order to advance these more actively we must create a stable legal basis and guarantees of the predictability of mutually profitable cooperation. We are now working intensively on the creation of such guarantees.

Lysenko Speculates Turkish Involvement in Duma Bombing

LD0612154995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1413 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 6 (INTERFAX) — Russian Duma deputy Nikolay Lysenko thinks that the possible organizers of the explosion in his office are what he referred to as the Caucasian mob and Ukrainian nationalists, and he believes Turkish builders working in the Duma building are the potential executors.

The explosive device blasted at about 5:00 p.m. Tuesday [5 December] in the office of Chairman of the Russian National Republican Party Nikolay Lysenko. The office was empty at that time, but the deputy had left it several minutes before the explosion.

Lysenko told a news conference today that it was an explosive device of medium capacity able to destroy everyone who happened to be in the room. It could have been placed on the instruction of Turkish secret services by a worker with the right to freely move around the Duma building, he said. (The Duma building was repaired in 1994 by Turkish workers. Some of them remain in the building to improve the repairs — IF). "It is not excluded that all telephone conversations at the State Duma are eavesdropped by Turkish secret services," said Lysenko.

Commenting on pronouncements by some deputies that the explosion could be an self-advertisement trick, Lysenko said these are "foolish suppositions of political rivals."

In his opinion, "an A-bomb with a medium capacity could be blasted at the State Duma because there is no order in the building. There is no order in the Kremlin, there is no order in the State Duma, and our secret services cannot work normally. The scale of political terrorism is becoming unprecedented, and bloody score-settling will start if not at the upcoming then at the next elections."

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Visitors Flee Tretyakov Gallery After Bomb Threat

LD0612153795 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1513 GMT 6 Dec 95

[By Sergey Gorbunov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 6 (ITAR-TASS) — Visitors of Moscow's most prestigious Tretyakov Art Gallery on the bank of the Moskva river opposite the Kremlin had to be evacuated in a hurry today after an anonymous telephone caller informed the Moscow police headquarters at around 14.00 Moscow time that a bomb had been planted in the gallery building.

Federal Security Service units with sniffer dogs are now looking for the bomb. Sources in the press centre of the Moscow Internal Affairs department told ITAR-TASS that the alarm was false because the caller, judging by the voice, was a youngster.

Justice Minister Explains Proposed Reforms

LD0612155695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1329 GMT 6 Dec 95

[By Gennadiy Yezhov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 6 (ITAR-TASS) — The creation of the court police and of the system of bailiffs, the introduction of the trial by jury and the turning over of reformatory institutions from the Interior Ministry to the Ministry of Justice will be the main stages of the reforming of Russia's judicial system. All those steps will be taken within the forthcoming several years, Russian Minister of Justice Valentin Kovalev said today at a press conference in the Government House.

The organization of the court police which, according to Valentin Kovalev, will become a "military vertical," [as received] is aimed at ensuring reliable protection of court rooms and the execution of court rulings by bailiffs. At the same time, it is planned to introduce in the country the post of Chief Bailiff of the Russian Federation, who will be appointed by the Minister of Justice.

According to Kovalev, the turning over of reformatory institutions from the Interior Ministry to the Ministry of Justice is an important part of the reforming of the judicial system. It should improve the overall situation of prisoners in Russia, which is now very much below the international standards. For example, Russia's reformatory institutions are so overcrowded, that the number of prisoners is three times as many as the available floorspace permits, according to the standards accepted in industrially developed countries.

The turning over will take several years and will be carried out in several stages. First the Ministry of Justice will be given control over the people, whose punishment is not connected with deprivation of liberty, then control over the institutions where juvenile delinquents are kept. Maximum security labour camps will be the last to be transferred to the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Justice.

Speaking about the introduction of the trial by jury, Kovalev said that this could not be done now in the whole of Russia. First it will be introduced in large cities and then spread to all the regions of the country.

MVD In-House Cleanup Yields 'Modest Results'

MM0612170395 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Dec 95 p 1

[Report by Yuriy Senatorov and Valeriy Yakov: "Corruption in the Law Enforcement Organs Can Be Put Down to Individual Sergeants"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Judging by the laconic reports coming in from the upper reaches of the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], the "Clean Hands" operation is continuing to gain momentum. The fight for the cleanliness of the law enforcement organs is apparently being conducted seriously, and its scale, according to the probable intention of its organizers, should please the public.

But, in order to believe that the latest restructuring of the MVD and the cleansing of corrupt officials from its organs is serious, the public would not mind also knowing about the specific results of the widely publicized campaign. But there happens to be a problem with this. Once they had told the press some strictly rationed information about a couple of dishonest militia generals who were exposed during the operation and removed from office, the organizers of the operation started talking about sergeants. Here they were not sparing of zeal. They thought up the horror-movie appellation "Werewolves" even for the joint press conference held 5 December in the hall of the General Prosecutor's Office collegium. Reporters were supposed to be silenced by the imminent sensational revelations, and the people were supposed to breathe easy — the organs at least will finally have clean hands....

But judging by the report from the front line of the aforesaid hygiene operation, it did not prove possible to discover many dirty hands. In the first 10 months of this year, only 773 criminal cases against staffers of the most varied law enforcement structures were instituted. This is of course 20 percent more than in the same period last year, but the whole point is that the operation itself was started very recently, and it scarcely makes its organizers look good to

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operate in terms of the figures of previous successful purges. But these figures themselves, irrespective of the operation, are very telling. The number of officials in the law enforcement organs who have been charged with corruption in the first 10 months of this year has risen by one-third — 805 are to be tried. There have been almost one-third more crimes connected with abuse of official position. The law enforcement organs staffers exceeded their powers two and a half times more frequently than last year.

"Individual cases" of connections between MVD, prosecutor's office, and FSB [Federal Security Service] staffers with organized crime groups were also discovered. It did not prove possible to establish how many cases like this there have been or indeed the official level of the staffers involved. The law enforcement organs staffers speak willingly only about the famous hired killer Salonik, who served in the militia at one time. As a sergeant.

The organizers of the operation only admit that "corruption has penetrated deep into the organs of the MVD, the FSB, and the prosecutor's office, and corrupt employees widely practice unofficial consultations and hand over confidential information to criminal structures for a certain sum." Specific cases are cited to make these bold statements more convincing: Thus, for example, the dishonest Novgorod investigator I. Khazov (against whom criminal proceedings have been suspended) has been dismissed from service. Captain of Militia A. Sinelnikov, from Stavropol, who received a bribe of $1,000 from a farmer, has been convicted. In Mordvinia three traffic police staffers were convicted of attacking a vehicle containing valuables....

Many more examples like these can be cited, and they are no doubt supposed to convince the public that no militia captain, and particularly no sergeant, will get away from bearing the responsibility he deserves. And a general from the pension he deserves. So the gigantic operation is bearing some modest fruit. But the main thing is that it is diverting attention from the boring questions about the results of all the previous programs for combating crime which everyone spoke about — from generals in the organs to the president in the Kremlin. An extensive attack on all kinds of crime at once, and not only departmental crime, was recently announced, a new plan of attack was promised, and the president set six tasks. Was any of this seen through to the end? Or did the sergeants get in the way?

Military Issues

Text of Edict on Servicemen's Extra Social Protection

MM0612143695 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 Dec 95 p 1

["Russian Federation Presidential Edict No. 1213 on Discharge from Military Service and Additional Measures of Social Protection for Servicemen Who Are Taking (Have Taken) Part in Direct Combat Operations and Are Carrying (Have Carried) Out Tasks in Conditions of Armed Conflict," signed by Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin in the Kremlin, Moscow, on 3 December 1995]

[FBIS Translated Text] With the aim of enhancing the social protection of servicemen who are taking (have taken) part in combat operations and are carrying (have carried) out tasks in conditions of armed conflict, and guided by Article 80 of the Russian Federation Constitution, I decree that:

1. Servicemen who have completed at least 18 months of inducted service and who carry (have carried) out tasks in conditions of armed conflict in the Chechen Republic and the Republic of Tajikistan for one month or more, or for less than one month but who suffer wounds, concussive injury, or disabling injuries shall be discharged from service, the aforementioned categories of servicemen being equated with servicemen who have completed the period of inducted service set by the law.

2. The period of continuous treatment spent in hospital or other medical establishments by servicemen who suffer wounds, concussive injury, disabling injuries, or sickness due to their direct participation in combat operations and the fulfillment of tasks in conditions of armed conflict in the Chechen Republic and Republic of Tajikistan shall count toward years in service (length of service) for the purposes of fixing pensions under the terms set by federal legislation for servicemen carrying out tasks in conditions of armed conflict.

3. Paragraph Two of this Edict shall apply to personnel of the Russian Federation Internal Affairs organs who take (have taken) part in combat operations and carry (have carried) out tasks in conditions of armed conflict in the Chechen Republic and Republic of Tajikistan.

4. This edict comes into force on the day of its publication.

[signed] Boris Yeltsin, Russian Federation president
[dated] The Kremlin, Moscow, 3 December 1995

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State To Repay Military Debts Under Budget

MM0612150395 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Dec 95 p 1

[Report by Oleg Getmanenko: "Debts to 'Power' Workers Will Be Cleared Before the End of the Year. Vladimir Petrov, Russian Federation First Deputy Minister of Finance, Stated This Once Again at a News Conference"]

[FBIS Translated Text] During a discussion of questions connected with the implementation of the federal budget and the prospects of approving the budget for next year Petrov emphasized that 95-percent funding of budget expenditure has been achieved this year. This is a perfectly normal world indicator. The budget largely owes its almost complete fulfillment to the fact that it was based on less optimistic forecasts than the actual development of the economic situation this year. Stabilization of production volumes came about three or four months sooner than planned — hence the reliable tax receipts from the internal sector of the economy. Inflation also "worked" for the budget, and the monetary stage of privatization brought in considerable funds. All this has enabled the government to clear a number of debts in November and December. Particularly to pensioners, for which purpose 5.8 trillion rubles was allocated to the Pension Fund.

As is known, the government was pretty well in debt to the military and to enterprises of the military-industrial complex. Petrov reported that a schedule for clearing debts has already been drawn up and will undoubtedly be fulfilled before the end of the year. The Ministry of Finance will fund 100 percent of the cost of military hardware, arms, and research and development. The same applies to clearing arrears relating to servicemen's pay and the wages of workers and employees of the Ministry of Defense, as well as the other power ministries. A decision in principle exists, and only a purely technical delay of two to three weeks is possible before the receipt of this money. The Ministry of Finance reckons that a one-off remuneration based on the work results for the year will most likely be paid in January or February of next year.

I would like to hope that next year the government will spare the military such irregular funding as this year. At least Petrov rates the budget-96 as more realistic than the previous one. In terms both of the amount of revenue and the structure of expenditure. He sees no reasons why the level of inflation should be higher than that laid down in the draft budget. I would like to believe that the "solvency" of the federal budget will also be higher.

Oct Military-Industrial Production Figures Quoted

MM0612180295 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Dec 95 p 3

[Report by Vitaliy Vitebskiy, chief of the Russian Federation State Committee for the Defense Industry main directorate for information and statistics: "Military-Industrial Complex in October"]

[FBIS Translated Text]

Industry

According to operational information reports the volume of industrial production (in comparable prices) in October 1995 compared with the relevant period last year declined 22.4 percent. A growth in production volumes was observed only at the main missile and space equipment administration (121.5 percent).

The greatest decline in production volumes in October 1995 was noted at enterprises of the main administration of the shipbuilding industry (54.6 percent). Such a low indicator was caused by the fact that it considered output with a long cycle of manufacture (ships and vessels) only at the end of their commissioning. For the "commodity output" indicator the production tempo for the administration was 79.9 percent.

Military Output

The volume of military production output in comparable prices in October 1995 compared with October last year declined 22.1 percent and 21.7 percent since the start of the year.

Production of Nonfood Consumer Goods

In October 1995 nonfood consumer goods were produced to the sum of 684 billion rubles [R] and since the start of the year to the sum of R6,568 billion.

The physical volume of production of nonfood consumer goods in October 1995 declined by compared with the same period of 1994 by 48.7 percent and by 37.8 percent since the start of the year.

On the basis of the results of October 1995 the biggest fall in the production of nonfood consumer goods was noted in the following administrations:

— radio industry — by 63.0 percent;
— arms industry — by 54.3 percent;
— aviation industry — by 50.8 percent;
— munitions industry — by 44 percent.

Labor Indicators

Numerical strength: In September 1995 (for this indicator the data are generalized a month behind) compared

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with September 1994 the average number of workers as a whole for the State Committee declined by 14.3 percent (in industry the number declined 14.5 percent while the numerical strength of industrial production personnel declined 14.3 percent).

Wages: The average monthly wage for a single worker in September 1995 (for this indicator the data are generalized a month behind) as a whole for the state committee was R365,000 (for your information, in the national economy the figure is R565,000 and in industry R643,000 and R438,000 in machine building).

The lowest wages were at enterprises and organizations of the electronics industry (R260,000).

The highest wages were at shipbuilding industry enterprises (R549,000).

Federal Assembly

INTERFAX Outlines Duma-Approved 1996 Budget

LD0612174395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1617 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 6 (INTERFAX) — The Russian State Duma adopted the draft 1996 federal budget in the second and third readings Wednesday in a 253-71 vote with six abstentions.

Over 1,000 amendments were discussed after the first reading of the document. The budget revenue estimate was increased by 13.7 trillion rubles and distributed amongst priority areas such as defense, 3.5 trillion; law enforcement and state security, 1.4 triilion rubles; housing construction, 4 trillion rubles; and agriculture, 2.3 trillion rubles.

Budget spending was cut by 7.1 trillion rubles, in particular on elections and referendums by 2 trillion rubles, on social programs by 1.1 trillion rubles, on state administration by 700 billion rubles and on subsidies to Moscow by 500 billion rubles.

A total of over 20 trillion rubles has been re-distributed within the framework of the macro-economic indices approved in the first reading of the draft budget, with revenues set at 347.2 trillion rubles, spending at 435.7 trillion rubles and the deficit at 88.5 trillion rubles.

The amendments offered by party groups covered increased science, culture, space research, defense and defense industry appropriations and aid to regions. The amendments had earlier been rejected by the Budget Committee.

Anatoliy Chubays, first deputy prime minister, said that most but not all of the amendments are backed up by real sources of revenue. An agreement was reached between the government and parliament that the programs which are not backed up will be financed when and if additional sources of funds are found.

Chubays Welcomes Adoption of 1996 Budget

LD0612165195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1559 GMT 6 Dec 95

[By Robert Serebrennikov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 6 (ITAR-TASS) — First Vice-Prime Minister Anatoliy Chubays welcomed the adoption of the 1996 budget by the Duma on Wednesday as a "crucial event in the restoration of elementary order in the country."

He said the successful passage of the budget is a sign of certain economic stability in the country.

"I am convinced that the approval of the budget became possible thanks to the results of the year 1995, during which inflation was reduced from 18 to 4 per cent, currency reserves increased from one to 12 billion U.S. dollars, an agreement was reached with the London Club on the rescheduling of debts and agreements with the International Monetary Fund and the Paris Club were prepared," he said.

The 1996 budget continues the 1995 budget and solves the problems which have not been solved yet, particularly further reduction of inflation to 1.9 per cent a month.

"Our prime task, to which the budget is oriented, is to ensure the beginning of economic growth in 1996," he said.

Chubays expressed the hope that the Federation Council will approve the budget for 1996.

The budget was passed by the State Duma by a 253-71 vote with six abstentions.

The budget, which has yet to be approved by the Federation Council, sets expenditures at 435.7 trillion roubles, revenues at 347.2 trillion roubles and deficit at 88.5 trillion roubles.

During the second reading, the Duma decided to increase budget revenues by 13.7 trillion roubles and cut expenditures by 7.08 trillion roubles in order to fund five key areas: defence, law enforcement, housing construction, agroindustrial complex and social sphere, Duma Budget Committee Chairman Mikhail Zadornov said.

In particular, the military will get an additional 3.5 trillion roubles, law enforcement agencies 1.37 trillion roubles, housing construction and agroindustrial complex

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four trillion roubles each and social sphere two trillion roubles.

Glotov: National Security May Be Endangered

LD0612165495 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1642 GMT 6 Dec 95

[By Anatoliy Yurkin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 6 (ITAR-TASS) — Russia's military budget for 1996 approved by the State Duma will not allow the armed forces to ensure national security properly, deputy Sergey Glotov said on Wednesday.

Glotov pointed to a number of mistakes made during the calculation of the army's budget. In particular, the rate of inflation, projected at no less than 5 per cent, was halved. In 1995, inflation was 7 per cent compared to 1.9 per cent predicted by the Finance Ministry, he said.

Defence expenditures in 1996 will exceed 80 trillion roubles, which will affect the quality of life and cause social tensions in the armed forces, Glotov said.

Originally, the Defence Ministry requested 100 trillion roubles.

The military budget was passed by a 250-71 vote with six abstentions. A total of 123 deputies did not vote.

"I voted against this budget because I am convinced that defence expenditures were lowered too much and do not correspond to the current historic conditions in Russia. The Army and the Navy cannot fulfil their tasks and will have to eke out their existence, which will not add to public prestige of military service. The army as a whole will lose a lot, too," Glotov said.

Duma Rejects Proposed Chechen Reconstruction Spending

LD0612153295 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1257 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 6 (INTERFAX) — The Russian State Duma (lower house) on Wednesday defeated by 243 to 32 votes a government proposal for extra spending this year to cover the cost of implementing a federal program of postwar reconstruction in Chechnya.

Head of the Duma budget committee Mikhail Zadornov said the government had failed to submit the program while continuing to spend money unforeseen in this year's budget.

The Duma also instructed the country's accounting chamber to verify how the funds allocated for economic reconstruction of Chechnya had been spent, given that not all of the money had been used for the purpose for which it was intended.

First Deputy Finance Minister Vladimir Petrov said that a total of 5.1 trillion rubles had been spent to rebuild housing space of over 1.9 million square meters and put up hospitals and schools with a capacity of 1,700 beds and 82,000 pupils respectively. Other facilities were also commissioned.

Petrov said that an extra 260 billion rubles was spent to buy food and medical supplies and other essentials for the victims of the Chechnya war.

However, the deputies were unconvinced and Zadornov said the Duma had no grounds for making budget amendments in the absence of "any paper shedding light on the program of Chechen reconstruction."

Duma Passes Compromise Law on Production Sharing

LD0612140095 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1027 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 6 (INTERFAX) — The State Duma on Wednesday passed a compromise version of a production-sharing law worked out by a reconciliation committee.

The law is expected to boost investment in Russia's raw materials sector, primarily the oil and gas industry.

The law was passed by 242 votes, with a quorum of 226 votes, with 27 votes against and 15 abstentions.

The original version of the law worked out by Yabloko faction member Aleksey Melnikov was approved by the Duma on June 14, but rejected by the Federation Council on October 3.

The two houses set up a reconciliation committee led by Sergey Glazyev, chairman of the Duma Committee for Economic Policy, and Yuriy Boldyrev, a member of the Council Budget Committee.

The commission worked for a month and held eight sessions, but failed to reach a consensus on Glazyev's proposals, which concerned the key provisions of the law, including taxation of investors, and state control over the implementation of specific agreements.

Melnikov accused Glazyev of "rigging" the results of the work of the Duma commission members, saying that "we will receive no investment under the corrected version of the law."

Melnikov urged the Duma to consider on Friday his "alternative version, which includes up to 20 amendments

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proposed by the Federation Council," but his call fell on deaf ears.

Glazyev did not attend the session, while another co-chairman of the reconciliation committee, Boldyrev, urged the deputies to support the law.

Chubays Calls New Law an 'Absurdity'

LD0612161095 Moscow INFORMATSIONNOYE AGENTSTVO EKHO MOSKVY in Russian 1400 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Russian State Duma adopted a new version of the law "on agreement on production sharing" on 6 December. A Moscow Echo radio station correspondent reports that the new version was drawn up by a conciliation commission made up of deputies from the Federation Coucil and the State Duma.

Russian First Deputy Prime Minister Anatoliy Chubays was extremely negative in his assessment of the law adopted by the State Duma. He declared: "This law will not work. It is an absurdity for every agreement to have to be adopted in the form of a federal law."

In Chubays' opinion, the law will not be endorsed by the Federation Council in this form. "It is an absurdity. And it is Sergey Glazyev and his comrades who have achieved this absurdity."

Shumeyko Calls Upper House Law 'Unconstitutional'

LD0612161495 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1400 GMT 6 Dec 95

[From the "Vesti" newscast; passages within quotation marks recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer Yuriy Novoselov] President Yeltsin signed the law on the formation of the Federation Council today. The law was passed by the State Duma yesterday.

Vladimir Shumeyko, Speaker of the parliament's upper chamber, made his views known on this today:

[Shumeyko] "Earlier we had certain views on this law when it was in the draft stage. Now the law has been passed and yes, we regard it as unconstitutional. Nonetheless, it has been signed by the president and this means that in keeping with the Constitution, once it has been signed and promulgated, it has come into force and this means it has to be observed."

[Unidentified correspondent] The speaker of the parliament's upper chamber thinks that it is not possible to form the Federation Council fully on the basis of this law alone.

[Shumeyko] "It is obvious that a law on the status of Federation Council members will have to be adopted. This is because the existing law is called: On the Status of Deputies. However, they are no longer deputies, they are a new generation."

[Correspondent] Shumeyko's view is that if people do not like the law, it has to be changed, but by using constitutional procedures. Replying to a question of whether he supported the move to ask the Constitutional Court about the legality of the interpretation of articles of the law on the formation of the Federation Council, Shumeyko replied in the affirmative.

[Shumeyko] "Of course, absolutely. Nothing is changed. The point is that the Federation Council's question is not about the law, but about the interpretation of the Constitution and this is of great importance."

[Novoselov] It became known today that the president has decided to withdraw from the Constitutional Court his question on the necessary interpretation of the concept of the formation of the Federation Council as enshrined in the law on the formation of the Russian parliament's upper chamber.

Rybkin: Council Should Concentrate Power From Regions

LD0612174295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1626 GMT 6 Dec 95

[By Pavel Kuznetsov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 6 (ITAR-TASS) — "The Federation Council should concentrate power elites from Russia's regions," speaker of the State Duma Ivan Rybkin told journalists on Wednesday, commenting on the law on the procedure for forming the Federation Council, which was signed by the Russian president and which was passed by the Duma the second time on December 5, thereby overriding the Federation Council's veto.

This document is extremely important, the speaker stressed. It "resolves a collision contained in the text of the Constitution" due to absence in the Fundamental Law of a clear-cut indication of a service term of the Russian parliament upper house.

Rybkin noted that "this collision is now resolved by an article of the law, envisaging that the document comes into force on December 13."

According to the speaker, talks that the Federation Council "will not have a fully representative nature due to this law, is utterly groundless," since the heads of legislative bodies of the Russian Federation's subjects

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(who are members of the Federation Council) are elected representatives from their regions.

Thirty-one heads of executive power of the Russian Federation's subjects, who are members of the Federation Council, were also "elected in some way or other," the speaker stressed.

Another 13 joined the December 17 parliamentary race. As a result, Rybkin noted, "this means that the Federation Council will be elected by over three-quarters after December 17."

On December 13, members of the Federation Council who are not heads of executive and legislative bodies of power of the Russian Federation's subjects, lose their powers and are automatically replaced by those about whom the law says, since "the Constitution has no other interpretation," Rybkin stressed.

In any case, he noted, the right to call the Federation Council remains with the Russian president. If the head of state "calls the Federation Council on December 13, it means that a new upper house of the Russian parliament will start working on December 13," Rybkin emphasised.

Security To Be Tightened After Duma Bombing

MM0712090695 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Dec 95 p 2

[Report by Sergey Chugayev: "Law on Monitoring of Elections Once Again Rejected Amid Explosion in Duma"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The explosion that rang out the previous evening in State Duma Deputy N. Lysenko's office was vigorously discussed by legislators. During the debate Deputy Yu. Yakovlev suddenly tried to blame the State Duma speaker for what had happened. According to the deputy, I. Rybkin had failed to tackle problems in the organization of the Duma's work, as a result of which armed people were wandering around the parliament, and he suggested that the question of confidence in the Duma chairman be included on the agenda.

Rybkin immediately put the proposal to the vote. The upshot was that the idea of a no-confidence vote met with support from only 33 deputies. However, the Duma speaker did not stop there but asked his colleagues to elaborate and pass a decree tightening up entry procedures. This should apply first and foremost to deputies' temporary aides. Their ID's will apparently be canceled and they will have to order passes in order to enter the Duma. Rybkin also told his colleagues of the countless fake passes that have been discovered.

As for the explosion itself, so far it is known that an investigation has started. According to the Federal Security Service Administration for Moscow and Moscow Oblast, the explosion in the deputy's office was caused by a device made out of several "hand grenades" with a timing mechanism. Many observers noted that strange things are constantly happening to Deputy Lysenko. Duma Speaker Rybkin told his colleagues that, according to reports which he has received from the Saratov Oblast Internal Affairs Administration, during the last election campaign — once again 11 days before the election — exactly the same thing happened to N. Lysenko in Saratov. The deputy himself suddenly said that the explosion in his office had taken place because the country had still not introduced a Russian passport.

In the midst of these stormy debates an attempt to put forward for discussion a draft law on public monitoring of elections and amendments to the electoral law was rejected almost unnoticed and, to all appearances, once and for all. The opposition from the Communists and Agrarians proved insuperable.

Deputies held a minute's silence in memory of their late colleague D. Volkogonov.

Legislative, Regulatory Documents 26 Nov - 2 Dec

96P50023

[FBIS Media Note] The following is a listing of Russian legislation recently published in the press of the Russian Federation compiled by FBIS. Numbers within parens indicate approximate wordage. Entries followed by the notation "Text" have been translated into English and are available in FBIS publications.

SECTION I: ECONOMIC LEGISLATION (EXPORT-IMPORT, BANKING, PRIVATIZATION, AUCTIONS, REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT)

RF Government 12 October Directive No. 1409 On Allocation Of R261.4 Billion To Administrations Of Far Eastern Regions As Compensation For Increased Tariffs For Electric Power Plus Commentary By M. Gorbunov. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 Nov 95 p 1) (100/350)

Yeltsin 18 November Edict No. 1158 Deeming Earlier Edict On Collection Of Profits Tax And Value-Added Tax Lapsed. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Nov 95 p 6) (200)

Yeltsin 21 November Edict No. 1166 On Supplementary Measures To Strengthen Payments Discipline Regarding Settlements With The Russian Federation Pensions Fund, Plus Commentary By Aleksandr Sharov.

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(Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 Nov 95 p 3) (700/450)

Federal Law No. 170, dated 21 November, 'On The Utilization Of Nuclear Energy.' (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 Nov 95 pp 4-6) (20000)

RF Government 27 November Decree No. 1175 On Tasks Of Federal Organs Of Executive Power And Executive Bodies Of Components Of The Federation To Ensure Socioeconomic Development Of Country Thru End Of 1995. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Dec 95 p 4) (900) (Text)

Yeltsin 29 November Edict No. 1194 On RF Federal Power Generation Commission. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Dec 95 p 1) (300)

RF Federal Law No. 185 On Addenda To RF Federal Law On Customs Tariffs. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Dec 95 p 6) (500)

SECTION II: POLITICAL (INTERNATIONAL AND CIS AFFAIRS, ELECTIONS, CRIME, POLLUTION)

Federal Law No. 174, dated 23 November, 'On Ecological Appraisal', Plus Plotnikov Commentary. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Nov 95 pp 3-5) (15000/900)

Yeltsin 24 November Edict No. 1177 On Limits On Expenditure Incurred By Federal Officials While On Official Travel Within Russian Federation. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Nov 95 p 6) (1400)

Statute On Electoral Commission Monitoring Groups To Ensure Observance Of Rules And Regulations On Election Campaigning In The Mass Media (Published As Appendix No. 2 To Central Electoral Commission's Decree No. 47/398-ii Of 18 November) (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Nov 95 p 6) (1800) (Text)

SECTION III: SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

RF 24 November Federal Law No. 179 On Changes And Addenda To RF Law On Social Protection For Citizens Subjected To Effects Of Radiation As Result Of Accident At Chernobyl AES. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Dec 95 pp 3-4) (7500)

Regional Affairs

Chechnya Reportage: Negotiations, Military, Politics

'Treaty' To Be Signed 8 December

LD0712144295 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1410 GMT 7 Dec 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Artem Protashchenko]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 7 Dec (ITAR-TASS) — On 8 December it is planned to sign a treaty [dogovor] on the bases of cooperation between the Russian Federation and the Chechen Republic.

The ITAR-TASS correspondent was told this in the directorate of government information of the government apparatus.

It is expected that Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin; Doku Zavgayev, chairman of the government of the Chechen Republic; and Oleg Lobov, the president's plenipotentiary representative in Chechnya, will take part in the signing.

The time of the signing, which will take place in Government House, will be specified later.

Chernomyrdin Comments on 'Treaty'

LD0712153795 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1438 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 7 Dec (ITAR-TASS) — In the morning of 8 December at the Government House in Moscow, a treaty "On the Fundamentals of Relations Between the Russian Federation and the Chechen Republic" will be signed.

Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, talking to journalists today, said in reply to a question by ITAR-TASS that the document "lays down a framework, defining the main parameters in relations between the federal center and Chechnya as a constituent part of the Russian Federation."

The head of the government said that such agreements have already been signed with 12 constituent parts of the Russian Federation. Their provisions are fully in keeping with the country's Constitution.

At the government information directorate, the ITAR-TASS correspondent was told that the treaty would be signed between Viktor Chernomyrdin; Doku Zavgayev, head of the Chechen Republic: and Oleg Lobov, plenipotentiary representatives of the Russian president in Chechnya.

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Gen. Rokhlin, Premier at Odds on Chechnya

MM0612143395 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Dec 95 p 2

[Report by Valeriy Kornev: "General Rokhlin Once Again Preparing To March on Chechnya"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Volgograd — Volgograders learned several pieces of sensational news at once from Lieutenant General Lev Rokhlin, commander of the Eighth Army Corps, who held a kind of military council here, inviting along leaders of the internal affairs administration, representatives of the Volgograd and Astrakhan oblast administrations, and journalists as well as senior officers from the garrison.

A year ago under the general's command corps subunits left for the war in Chechnya, from which many enlisted men and officers were not destined to return. Which makes the main concepts for military doctrine in the North Caucasus region that he set out all the more puzzling.

Having said that there are three ways of solving the Chechen conflict, the general immediately rejected the first one — the peaceful option. According to him, the last four months have demonstrated the futility of that option: No gang has surrendered and our servicemen are dying every day. The second option for resolving the conflict put forward by Rokhlin himself — pulling out the troops and fixing borders — has already been flatly rejected by him as unacceptable since he says that Dudayev's ultimate objective is to unite the neighboring territories. What is left?

A third option remains, Gen. Rokhlin said: While providing economic aid and pursuing a correct policy toward the civilian population, act extremely tough with the "hard-liners" and destroy their gangs everywhere.

Gen. Rokhlin tried to persuade garrison officers that the third option is preferable not just on his own account but also, as he pointed out, in line with military doctrine in the North Caucasus Region. This runs counter to the position espoused by head of government Viktor Chernomyrdin, who favors the first option, the peaceful option.

"Based on the situation in Chechnya," the general said, "the Defense Ministry has taken steps to reinforce the troops of the Eighth Corps and its staffing levels, and bring in new kinds of arms and equipment. Those units that entered Chechnya with our corps are extremely exhausted; therefore, we might be set the task of replacing these troops."

Zavgayev Proposes N. Caucasus Congress

LD0712111095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1002 GMT 7 Dec 95

[By Sharip Asuyev and Sergey Trofimov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, December 7 (ITAR-TASS) — Head of the Chechen republic Doku Zavgayev suggested the convocation of a congress of peoples of the Northern Caucasus in any city of the region to discuss the most burning problems that now face these peoples. "People cannot and must not live beyond reinforced concrete barriers," says the statement of the Chechen leader circulated on Thursday. "There must be no persecution in the Caucasus nor frontier posts dividing different peoples and ethnic groups."

"Mutual respect and mutual understanding must be the basis of the philosophy of our neighborhood and brotherhood, must be moral and ethical norms of people from every ethnic group inhabiting the Northern Caucasus," the statement says.

OSCE Favor's Dudayev Taking Part in Talks

LD0612130595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1125 GMT 6 Dec 95

[By Gennadiy Yezhov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 6 (ITAR-TASS) — Russian Justice Minister Valentin Kovalev today held a press conference to discuss the situation in Chechnya and the view of the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] officials on the latest developments in the republic.

It is still too early to hold elections of the head of the Chechen republic, according to a representative of the OSCE president, Istvan Gyarmati, and OSCE mission leader in Groznyy Sandor Meszaros.

The two officials of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe told Russian Justice Minister Valentin Kovalev before leaving for Budapest that "conditions were not yet quite ripe for the election (of the head of the republic)," while the elections to the State Duma scheduled for December 17 were described by Meszaros as "an undoubtedly timely and necessary action."

Sandor Meszaros gave the Russian Minister a copy of the report prepared for the OSCE leadership as a result of his 12-month work in Chechnya. The report noted "a positive attitude of the world public" toward the elections to the State Duma scheduled for December 17, Kovalev told the press conference in the House of the Government in Moscow today.

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The Russian Minister said the report also contained a statement on the necessity to grant Dzhokhar Dudayev the right to participate in the process of the political settlement in the Chechen republic.

Minister Kovalev said in his comment on the report that it was possible to grant Dudayev the right if he agreed to stand the trial before a Russian Federal Court on charges made against him.

"Bringing Dzhokhar Dudayev to account before the court does not mean that he would be found guilty by all means," the Justice Minister said.

"Moreover, the presumption of innocence effective in this country allows him to participate in political life until the court hands down its ruling," Kovalev stressed.

The Minister said the OSCE report praised President Yeltsin's decree providing for an amnesty to those Chechen militants who laid down arms and were not guilty of grave crimes.

Minister Kovalev noted that federal authorities were taking additional measures to ensure the safety of the OSCE mission in Groznyy and pledged to keep this matter in focus in the future.

Zorin on Status, Legitimate Government

LD0612174795 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1458 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, December 6 (ITAR-TASS) — "Only legitimately elected authorities may solve the question of the status and sovereignty of the Chechen republic. We are on our way to that goal and the election of the head of the republic is the first starting point" in this process, first deputy head of the Russian territorial administration in Chechnya Vladimir Zorin said.

In an interview with ITAR-TASS on Wednesday, Zorin said that ideally elections should be held after the situation has been stabilised, but "events have taken their own course. Constructive peace talks on the settlement of the conflict in Chechnya were suspended because of irresponsible statements by the Dudayev delegation. The new situation dictated new decisions — elections of the head of the republic."

"But we should not turn it into a tragedy. The head of the republic is elected for two years. In other words, for the duration of the transitional period. The newly elected head of the republic with legitimate powers will organise free elections of the supreme bodies of power and a referendum on the future system of government in the republic. All this is envisioned for the transitional period," he said.

Zorin noted that a draft federal programme of economic and social revival of Chechnya has been sent to the president's office. The programme is estimated at 22 trillion roubles to 25 trillion roubles.

He said President Boris Yeltsin has supported it in principle and may sign a corresponding decree in the very near future.

Chechen Commanders Meet Before Elections

LD0712122495 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1200 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Dzhokhar Dudayev's field commanders are today discussing the situation in Chechnya prior to the elections of the head of the republic and deputies to the Russian State Duma, scheduled for 17 December. The venue is the district capital of Shali, ITAR-TASS reported, quoting a well-informed source.

Nothing is known about Dudayev's participation. No particular measures to advertise the meeting have been taken, but, on the other hand, the participants are not hiding.

Special Forces To Ensure Elections

MK0712113895 Moscow OBSHCHAYA GAZETA in Russian No. 49, 7-13 Dec 95 (Signed to press 6 Dec 95) p 1

[Unattributed report: "Dudayev Asked For It?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] OBSHCHAYA GAZETA has learned from competent sources in the military department that Russian special services have taken the challenge from Dudayev and his comrades in arms. The heads of special subunits have undertaken an action to support the elections in Chechnya and, possibly, to neutralize some Chechen leaders. Several groups mainly consisting of former GRU [Main Intelligence Directorate] spetsnaz [special forces] officers have already flown to Chechnya. They have each been promised 50 million rubles for this job.

Khasbulatov Expects Election 'Violations'

LD0612163195 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1400 GMT 6 Dec 95

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ruslan Khasbulatov, one of the candidates for the post of head of Chechnya, thinks that the election campaign and the elections themselves will be accompanied by mass violations in the republic.

Meeting journalists in Groznyy, he said that many delegates of the movement he is heading had not been

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let through to the Chechen capital by the Russian soldiers today to take part in an election conference.

AFP reports that Khasbulatov blamed Doku Zavgayev for such incidents.

Gakayev on Elections, Zavgayev Support

MM0612142895 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Dec 95 p 2

[Report by Igor Rotar: "Chechen Diaspora: Life in Moscow, Passions in Groznyy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to Dzhabrail Gakayev, chairman of the All-Russia Chechen Cultural Center, all Chechens living outside the republic have been allowed to take part in the Chechen elections. This is a fairly remarkable fact: Moscow is doing everything possible to collect the number of votes necessary to ensure that the elections are valid. The precise number of members of the diaspora is unknown, and the participation of this new group of voters in the elections increases the likelihood of irregularities [falsifikatsiya].

There are around 250,000 Chechens living in Russia outside Chechnya, that is, around one-fourth of the whole Chechen people. There are several reasons for such a high proportion of emigres. In 1944, all the Chechens were deported from their native land. In the fifties, when the Chechens were allowed to return home, some of them had become so settled in their new homes that they did not return. Furthermore, emigration continued in subsequent years. Work is traditionally hard to find in the mountainous region. The practice of "working away from home" ["otkhodnichestvo"] was widespread here: The family remained at home while the head of the family went off to Russia to find work. During Dudayev's rule unemployment in Chechnya reached 60 percent of the able-bodied population, and it is hardly an exaggeration to claim that it was indeed the work of the Chechen guest workers in Russia that provided most of the republic's families with their "daily bread."

"We believe that the elections must be held. This is the only means of legitimizing power in the republic. We have not yet decided which candidate we will support for the post of head of the republic, but we are tending toward voting for Doku Zavgayev. Zavgayev is an experienced economic manager and politician, and his knowledge of the situation in Chechnya will help to normalize life in the republic," Dzhabrail Gakayev believes.

By all accounts Doku Zavgayev will also be supported by other leaders of the Chechen diaspora who have decided to take part in the elections.

"If I have to choose between Zavgayev and Khasbulatov I will undoubtedly choose the former. But in my view it would be better if Dudayev agreed to take part in the elections too," Makhmud Esambayev, the well-known dancer, believes.

"Several weeks ago I refused to run in the elections in Chechnya in the single-seat district. The reason for my decision was that Dudayev's men are ready for any act of provocation and the elections could lead to fresh bloodshed. But now I believe that the elections must take place come what may, and I have agreed to run for the Russian Federation State Duma on behalf of Chechnya. As for the elections for the head of the republic, I undoubtedly support Zavgayev's candidacy," Interior Ministry General Aslanbek Aslakhanov told your IZVESTIYA correspondent.

Doku Zavgayev's unexpected popularity can be explained. On the eve of the introduction of the Russian troops, Ruslan Khasbulatov probably had the highest popularity rating of all Chechen politicians. The former speaker of the Russian Supreme Soviet took a centrist position between Doku Zavgayev, an experienced apparatchik of the old school and former first secretary of the Chechen-Ingushetia republic party committee, and the national radical Dzhokhar Dudayev. Today, however, the situation has changed sharply: The national catastrophe has polarized Chechen society's views. Some of Khasbulatov's former supporters have switched to Doku Zavgayev, who personifies the calm era of stagnation, while others, conversely, have rallied around Dzhokhar Dudayev, the living symbol of national resistance.

As Gakayev told IZVESTIYA, activists of his center are now vigorously engaged in campaigning among the diaspora to persuade their fellow countrymen to take part in the elections. In Gakayev's opinion the turnout among members of the diaspora will be fairly high — around 60 percent of the Chechens living outside the republic will take part in the elections.

However, the professor's optimism prompts certain doubts: The diaspora is as divided as Chechen society in the republic itself. For example, a considerable proportion of Chechens do not recognize Gakayev's association of fellow countrymen and regard him as a traitor. The Chechen diaspora in Yaroslavl, St. Petersburg, Tver, Ivanovo, Kostroma, Volgograd, and Samara have sent protest letters to various organs of Russian power about the holding of elections in conditions of occupation.

So by all accounts the attitudes toward the elections held by the Chechen diaspora and their fellow countrymen back home generally coincide. Although they live far

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from their native homes Chechens are still preoccupied with the concerns and passions of their mountain home.

Zorin Discusses Aim of Elections

LD0612142095 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In recent days in Chechnya the issue of the need for elections, in general, and the election of the head of state, in particular, has arisen with greater acuteness. Over to Vladimir Trushkovskiy, our special correspondent in Groznyy.

[Trushkovskiy] Arguments over the election of the head of state, his rights and duties, and his relations with Moscow have been very heated. Politicians and journalists have frequently expressed the view that there was a lack of logic in the measures taken. They say that it is first necessary to reach real peace, disarm the fighters, withdraw the federal troops, define Chechnya as a subject of the federation, and only then — when people start to feel the effects of peace and are ready to have a balanced view of things — hold the election of a head of state.

That is the opinion. However, one cannot say that this logic is the only correct one. Elections are not the aim but a means, an instrument for achieving peace, order, and the normalization of the situation in Chechnya. As stated in an interview to your correspondent by Vladimir Zorin, deputy chairman of the territorial directorate, the issue [word indistinct] may be settled only by the legally elected authorities, that is, the authorities that can lawfully speak on behalf of the people.

That is the aim of the election of the head of state. The very logic of the development of events in Chechnya, Zorin said, has been disrupted. After the signing of the military agreement, the sides have failed to be constructive, the talks broke down, and Russia cannot be blamed for it. We now have to look for ways out and new solutions. At the same time, we have to take into account, Zorin said, the fact that the head of state is elected for two years. That will be in fact a transitional period, during which it will be necessary to set up a legal parliament, hold a referendum on issues of Chechnya's statehood, and work out the main provisions for interaction between the center and the Chechen Republic, Zorin believes.

'Exclusive' Interview with Khasbulatov

LD0612205895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1944 GMT 6 Dec 95

["Exclusive" report No. 49 (150) of 6 December 1995]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] RUSLAN KHASBULATOV'S RECIPE FOR PEACE IN CHECHNYA

Former speaker of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet Ruslan Khasbulatov is now staying in Chechnya and running for Chechnya's head of the republic in the elections scheduled for December 17. On his arrival in Groznyy he said that he cannot be defeated because only a man who works for peace in Chechnya can be the victor.

Khasbulatov said that quite a few people speak of peace but he alone has a specific plan and a technology for its imposition. He was interviewed in Groznyy by an INTERFAX reporter.

INTERFAX: The Russian parliamentary and Chechen elections of the head of the republic are less than two weeks away. What do you think of the possible balance of forces in the Russian parliament and the role it has to play in resolving the conflict in Chechnya?

KHASBULATOV: Forecasts of this kind are not easy. Before all I want to say that the new parliament is likely to repeat the errors made by the present one. Certain aspects of its activities trouble me, in particular the posture adopted by certain MPs on the Chechen problem.

The situation is very tense in Chechnya now. A recent war has left tens of thousands dead. The rebuilding work is slow, the local authorities function badly. In this context some MPs, influential and generally intelligent people, question the need to rebuild anything in Chechnya. It does not occur to them that there would be no need to rebuild Chechnya if the federal army had not destroyed everything there.

The local people hear such statements and understand that nobody is going to apologize to them or to rebuild what has been destroyed and this is the kind of popular representation we have. People believe that the Duma elections are irrelevant if the MPs are that cynical. In effect, the Russian parliament has been discredited even before it was elected.

As I watch the electoral battles and compare the economic and political platforms of various parties and blocs, I see that while they are supposed to differ on the essentials, the political leaders use the same phraseology, the same calls, the same pledges of love for their country, adherence to democratic values, liberty,

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equality, justice and patriotism. Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin's supporters are not alone in saying that Russia is their home.

I am very pessimistic about the Duma, the present and the future. I do not see a coherent group among the candidates who are aware of the perils of the situation and are prepared to cooperate with progressive forces.

The situation in the country is very complicated. I have a feeling that we are all involved in a game by the candidates who, in turn, are manipulated by somebody else. I feel that what is going on has been programmed. We seem to be inside an enclosure where we can be brave and resolute and use the liberties but some powerful force does not let us out.

Q.: Do you think that the elections can be canceled or put off?

A.: This development cannot be ruled out, but purely hypothetically. In the context of today this turn of events is unrealistic because the consequences of this step could be dealt with only by disbandment of parliament. This will only harm the ruling elite because now is not the fall of 1993.

Q.: What is the specific difference between the political situation now and in 1993?

A.: Firstly, most people would take a very dim view of violent ways to deal with parliament. I predicted this in my book "The Great Russian Tragedy." People take a sounder view of the 1993 events. A revaluation process is going on. The people would oppose political violence more vigorously now.

Secondly, the opposition to violence is attributable to the deteriorating socioeconomic situation in the country.

A combination of these two factors would spell the defeat of those who would try to disband parliament. Nevertheless such an attempt could be made because when we say that the state is weakened this does not mean that so does its political regime or its repressive part.

I believe that the present regime started taking its shape as early as in the second half of 1992. I saw dangerous trends in its development but mine was a lone voice when I warned that our country is becoming a police state.

I came under a strong pressure as speaker of parliament when attempts were made to railroad various kinds of undemocratic legislation as amendments or bills. I did my best to resist them.

Analysis of the bills passed by the State Duma over the last two years shows a significant anti-democratic bias in the Russian legislation. It has increased the repressive functions, manpower and hardware of the police and military agencies. The Supreme Soviet did nothing of the kind.

What is surprising is that the mass media which are supposed to be the watchdogs of democracy do not notice this or compare the attitude of the past and this "most democratic" parliament to this problem. All the MPs did voted without hesitation for the possibility of increased reprisals against the population rather than criminals.

The analysts should give more attention to this trend. This dangerous change is introduced under a legal guise.

Q.: Why didn't you run for parliament this time?

A.: I have no desire to compete against the people who want to take power now. This is not because they are bad. What is important is that both this Duma and the one to be elected are not representative enough. I would not refer to it as parliament. Because I studied the world economy for 30 years I have a pretty good idea of what democracy is. A powerless parliament of this kind has no right to exist. Therefore I do not think I can be useful there unless I want to make my life safer. But I am fatalistic and believe that election to the Duma will hardly change what awaits me.

From the seat of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet which was believed to be all-powerful I was brought to prison and so I do not believe that membership in parliament would add to my safety. Nor do I believe that I could influence the country's politics from the Duma.

Numerous people suggest that I should represent Chechnya in the State Duma. But it would be cynical of me to run for parliament in Chechnya because there is no authority in the republic. The provisional authorities appointed by the Russian government only discredit Moscow.

I believe that before all the republic's authorities should be elected. Chechens were pleased when I said that I came to Groznyy not to run for the State Duma but to run for head of the republic.

The Chechen tragedy is still unraveling. Every day people are coming to me whose relatives have been taken to filtering camps and nobody knows what happened to them. Numerous inhabitants of the republic have no roof over their heads while the winter has set in. Food is in short supply. The mountainous part of the republic is in a desperate situation.

And all the while the government ministers do not dare out of their offices. The situation is couldn't be worse.

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Q.: What do you think of the activity of Oleg Lobov, secretary of Russia's Security Council and the presidential envoy in Chechnya?

A.: One should do justice to Lobov, he tries wholeheartedly to resolve numerous problems. The people appreciate this. Still, thousands of armed men are at large and do not trust the authority, especially the local one.

Numerous Chechens are now trying to vindicate the Russian armed forces saying that the republic's leaders deceived the Russian government by saying that Dudayev's supporters could be easily destroyed, that the federal troops were lured into the republic.

Q.: How do you evaluate your own possible contribution to rebuilding Chechnya?

A.: At the first stage I am trying to achieve a reconciliation. There are certain achievements to our credit. Even the intensity of exchanges of fire at nights is said to have fallen since the time I arrived in the republic. The current leader of the republic Doku Zavgayev is also helpful.

Q.: Some attribute the reduced level of fighting to poor weather. Are they right?

A.: They might be. I would not exaggerate my contribution to the peace process but my impression from meetings with numerous resistance field commanders is that the conflict could be brought to an end.

Q.: What specific steps can be taken in this direction?

A.: If the Russian leaders want a real end to tension and a lasting peace in Chechnya, something which Russian President Boris Yeltsin has repeatedly said, numerous steps have to be taken. Firstly, the local authorities should be elected. Secondly, the puppet government, a source of irritation, must be removed as soon as possible.

Thirdly, numerous residents of the republic would like me to be a guarantor of their security following the surrender of arms. "We trust you," they say. But it would be risky to make promises of this kind. The situation can change in any way. Some resistance unit may go back on their promise.

I was present at the talk on this issue between Oleg Lobov and State Duma speaker Ivan Rybkin. The deadline of the State Duma's amnesty has passed and Chechen fighters call for its extension. This can be done as a parliament act or a presidential decree. Lobov agrees with me. Rybkin told us that such an act would certainly be adopted.

Another important issue is compensation of the war damage under a Russian president's decree. Unfortunately, the payment of pensions and grants in Chechnya is delayed. People must see that the authorities care for them, that the authorities did not come only to kill them. It is important to help those who survived, who want life to go on.

People are humiliated by the talk in the media of aid to Chechnya. It is not aid, it is just a small fraction of what was taken away from the residents of the republic in the war. We are not a backward colony to be fed by a kindly uncle. People say: "Pay back at least part of what you destroyed, don't send it to us as if we are beggars."

Q.: How do you view the Chechen elections? The analysts agree that they will be difficult to organize because both parties in the conflict will come to the polling stations simultaneously.

A.: That's true. The situation in the republic is not easy. But I am confident that the elections in Chechnya could be held last April or March had the authorities been interested in a settlement rather than engaged in strife. There were no militias to speak of in the republic as late as in April. A relative calm reigned when the resistance units were forced into the mountains. The elections should have been held then. This opportunity was wasted by the then provisional authorities which wanted to stay in office. This was a crime.

Q.: What role could Lobov's mission play?

A.: My impression is that Oleg Lobov is earnestly trying to be helpful. Unfortunately, certain officials in the provisional government who have personal contacts with influential people in Moscow obstruct a settlement in Chechnya and, plainly speaking, harm the Russian Federation.

One should not forget that Chechnya hinders numerous Russian foreign policy objectives. In particular, Russia's political and diplomatic activity in the Balkans is paralyzed because the West asks, and with a good reason, Why are you killing people in Chechnya?

The Chechen war has strained Russia's relations with the influential and powerful Moslem world.

I am confident that an early settlement in Chechnya would be in the strategic interests of the Russian state but the ambitions of certain local leaders hinder it.

Q.: Why don't you attend the round table discussion held in the government?

A.: This is a principled position. I was one of the first to suggest a round table. This institution exists in numerous countries at the post-conflict stage. I was not willing to attend it because the most influential parties to the

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conflict were not represented. Who with and about what to talk, then?

We don't know what our opponents think of the elections. I believe that they will not attend them. For this reason the voting might prove to be invalid. If this happens, the opposition might say that the failure of the voting is a vote of no confidence in Russia.

The Groznyy government says, If you are not with us, you are a Dudayev supporter. But numerous members of the opposition disagree with Dudayev. Some field commanders are offended when they are referred to as pro-Dudayev. They say they have their own party and platform. But who is aware of this? Everybody is tagged as pro- or anti-Dudayev.

Q.: Why do the Chechens elect a head of the republic rather than a president as in the neighboring Ingushetia?

A.: A psychological factor has a role to play in this. Dudayev has discredited the very idea of presidency. True, this was quite an acceptable form of authority. In any case, one should start with the elections of the republican authorities but these elections could be held jointly with elections of the federal parliament.

What is obvious is that it is up to legitimate authorities to talk to the opposition.

Q.: You were given a warm welcome in Chechnya. What other leaders staying here could take part in the revival of the republic?

A.: Doku Zavgayev, by all means. The resistance fighters are well aware of the fact that he was not involved in the bloodshed. He has a clear conscience (at least I think so). Numerous people in Chechnya support Zavgayev and so he should be involved in the settlement of the conflict, whatever one can think of him.

Khozh-Akhmed Yarikhanov, the head of Dudayev's negotiating team, could play a noticeable role, too. Dudayev's chief of staff Aslan Maskhadov should not be dismissed, either. One should attract whoever has influence, whose voice is heard.

The setting up of a coalition administration which would include resistance fighters would reassure those who want to surrender arms. Peace is a very difficult matter. Starting a war is not easy, ending the war is still harder.

Q.: Can a compromise be achieved with Dudayev?

A.: Not personally with Dudayev, for he has contributed to the death of 50,000 people. Being not a stupid man he understands that.

If he had given heed to what I used to say for five months during which our peace mission was active, there would have been no war.

If I had my way, I would let him go. I believe that much depends on him and on his entourage.

Q.: Do you think that the war cannot resume?

A.: This possibility cannot be ruled out. The situation around the towns of Sernovodsk and Urus-Martan is explosive. Sporadic fighting is known to degenerate sometimes into wars.

Moscow officials spoke of a local operation which would end in two or three days but the war dragged on for six months with numerous casualties on both sides. Nearly a million men were involved, over 1,000 tanks were knocked out. This is atrocious. Against this background anti-Russian sentiments are natural.

Q.: But the rebuilding work is underway, isn't it?

A.: No work to speak of has been done. There were 410,000 to 415,000 jobs in Chechnya in the 'eighties but there are as few as 45,000 now. Lobov and myself came to the same conclusions independently, 100,000 building workers are needed to rebuild Grozny in four to five years. There are as few as 15,000 of them now. At this rate the city will never be rebuilt.

To create at just 300,000 jobs in 1996, 15 trillion rubles are needed. But where would this sum come from if there are no sources of financing?. Nobody is doing anything to make this possible, with Lobov alone engaged in this uphill work.

Q.: When Tashkent was destroyed by an earthquake, builders came from every Soviet republic and the city was restored fairly soon. Is this scenario possible in Groznyy?

A.: It certainly is but to make this possible the republic needs intelligent legitimate authorities, which is not the case yet.

Q.: What do you think of the activities of the Conciliatory Observer Commission in charge of disarmament and withdrawal of troops?

A.: I think there is no real disarmament or withdrawal. Mistrust and fear have become political factors.

Signing a treaty on the relations between the Chechen Republic and the Russian Federation would be a solution to this issue, as I said.

Q.: What kind of treaty would that be?

A.: This should be negotiated. I will keep my view to myself to prevent discord.

One should not forget that the peace talks depend 90 percent on Moscow for their success. Unfortunately, there are numerous cruel intransigent forces in Moscow

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who would not hesitate to have thousands of people killed.

Q.: What do you think of the Russian president's remarks about you?

A.: I would not exaggerate my importance for the republic but people who know Chechnya first-hand are aware of the fact that the majority here are my supporters. For this reason when the president said that Khasbulatov's influence should be used, people in Chechnya welcomed this statement. I will do my utmost to make peace possible.

Arrests Made in Groznyy Car Bombing

LD0712063495 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0609 GMT 7 Dec 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Trofimov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Groznyy, 7 Dec (ITAR-TASS) — Four people were arrested in Groznyy during the night on suspicion of committing Monday's [4 December] terrorist act outside the building housing the Territorial Directorate of the Federal Executive Authorities in the center of the Chechen capital, a highly-placed spokesman for the Chechen Interior Ministry [MVD] said. In a conversation with the ITAR-TASS correspondent, he said that the arrest operation was carried out through the combined efforts of officers of the MVD and the directorate of the Federal Security Service in Chechnya.

The MVD spokesman said that the security forces had "well-founded information enabling them to carry out the arrest operation". A large sum of money, weapons and a large quantity of explosives were taken off the suspects.

Five people were killed and 65 injured as a result of the explosion on Monday.

No Foreigners Aboard Missing Khabarovsk-Bound Plane

LD0612231395 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2230 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 7 Dec (ITAR-TASS) — Two aircraft belonging to the Far Eastern emergency services department are now searching for the missing Tu-154, an ITAR-TASS correspondent was told at the Russian Emergency Situations Ministry. The plane, carrying 88 passengers left Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk for Khabarovsk on 6 December at 1940 hours local time. After 20 minutes it disappeared from the radar screens.

ITAR-TASS correspondent in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, Yevgeniy Belovitskiy, quoting the local airport officials, reported that there were no foreigners on board the Tu-154 Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk—Ulan-Ude—Novosibirsk flight number 3949.

Search Continues For Missing Tu-154

LD0712062795 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0331 GMT 7 Dec 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anatoliy Vostokov]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Khabarovsk, 7 Dec (ITAR-TASS) — Intensive searching for the Tu-154 aircraft which has continued now for several hours has yet to produce any result. It turns out that a fire deep in an area of taiga [forest] which had caught the attention of rescue workers was not related to the air disaster.

The deputy commander of the First Khabarovsk Combined Air Detachment, Gennadiy Klimovets, told the ITAR-TASS correspondent that experts could not exclude the possibility of the airliner falling into the sea. In the final radio exchange the crew reported that it had passed a conventional control point which is located roughly 80 km off the coast. Communications with the aircraft were then broken. [passage omitted]

Communists Lead, Zhirinovskiyists Lose in Chuvashia

MM0612142995 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Dec 95 p 2

[Report by Aleksandr Belov: "Zhirinovskiyists Rejected"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Cheboksary — The first round of supplementary elections for the republic State Council has been held in Chuvashia. The main surprise being the unprecedentedly high turnout among urban voters. Two or three times as many citizens turned out at certain polling places as during the previous campaign.

The need for more elections is due to a Russian Constitutional Court ruling, which at Chuvash President Nikolay Fedorov's request robbed almost one-third of deputies in the republic's supreme legislative organ of their powers. Ten out of 14 disqualified parliamentarians joined the fight once again. And they all got through to the second round. Candidates backed by the Communists are leading in all districts. But candidates from Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party of Russia have suffered a crushing defeat. Inhabitants of Chuvashia did not let any of them get through the first round.

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Shakhray Protests Being Banned From Live Broadcast

MM0612155795 Moscow TRUD in Russian 6 Dec 95 p 2

[Report by Andrey Smirnov: "S. Shakhray: 'Budget Money Being Misused'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "The governor of Perm Oblast has banned a live television broadcast in which I was to take part," Sergey Shakhray, leader of the Party of Russian Unity and Accord [PRES], stated in Perm last week. He explained that he learned of the ban only two hours before going on air. Shakhray drew the press' attention to the fact that Zyuganov had been allowed to make a similar live TV broadcast quite recently.

"This was a one-man show [avtorskaya peredacha] and no one has the right to rule the air waves," Shakhray said. "This kind of blocking tactic is familiar to us from Moscow and clearly it has arrived here too."

Speaking about his party's program at a meeting with the Perm public, the PRES leader raised the question of pension and wage arrears, an acute problem for Russia today. "If the premier is told that this question has been resolved and the money has been allocated but I see during my frequent travels that this is not true, this can only mean one thing: The budget money has been 'misused' in the commercial banks. I want banks that commit violations of this kind to lose their licenses immediately."

The vice premier passed on an anecdote that he had heard recently in Chelyabinsk. The premier was making an election tour of the oblast. He stopped along the road and asked passers by: "How's life, chaps?"

"Great!" they joked.

"It is going to get even better!" the premier quipped in return.

After telling the anecdote, Sergey Shakhray was asked the following question which was asked in all seriousness by a member of the audience: "The present tax policy is stifling Russian producers. Do we only have idiots in our government?" "No," the vice premier said. "I can state officially that we do not only have idiots in the government."

Kostroma Nationalists Oust Azerbaijanis From Market

MM0612171395 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Dec 95 p 2

[Report by Mikhail Ovcharov: "Kostroma National Patriots' Route to Power Starts at Market"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kostroma — Kostroma's national patriots have seized power at the city's central market. This happened after 36-year-old Aleksandr Shalayev, former political worker and entrepreneur, who is a leader of Kostroma's patriotic movement and who won the competition held by city hall for the post, became its new director.

We knew, Mr. Shalayev told me, that Russians have been having a hard time at the market, which is effectively in the hands of Transcaucasians, and therefore the council of Kostroma's patriotic movement decided that I must take part in the competition. I make no secret of the fact that I agreed to do so for purely ideological motives, without even inquiring about the wage being offered. Now we must establish a 'new order' at the market."

Our conversation took place in a tiny office while next door, beyond the wall, the noisy, colorful life of the city market was going on, whose milieu has been infiltrated by burly guys wearing leather jackets and striped vests and carrying walkie-talkies. According to Mr. Shalayev his national patriotic movement supporters — former Afghan War, airborne, and special forces troops — have already been placed at certain key points in the market. For instance, the meat pavilion weigher, or rather his "boss," was Mikhail Shirokov, a former military counterintelligence major. It was here that they started to impose the "new order": The Azerbaijanis have essentially been squeezed out. What is the result?

We were warned, Shalayev said, that Kostroma will have no meat if the Azerbaijanis leave the market. Nothing of the sort! Up to 2.8 tonnes of meat a day used to be sold and is still being sold at our market, but we have reduced its price by between 2,000 and 3,000 [rubles — R] — our meat costs between R8,000 and R14,000 per kilogram.

That sounds encouraging, but the recent raid by city administration staffers headed by Mayor Boris Korobov showed that, despite the squeezing out of the Azerbaijanis, private farmers and other meat producers are still finding it hard to obtain a place in the market. As regards meat prices, many customers told me that in the last month they had still not decreased. Although they did not increase either.

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The tough line on squeezing out Caucasians has already spread to the fruit and vegetable pavilion. Tokens conferring the right to trade are received here exclusively by citizens with a Kostroma residence permit, while Azerbaijainis have been forced to set up open-air stalls.

"I personally am not against other nations," the new market director tried to convince me, "but I do not like it when the Russian people are humiliated and insulted." It is against this, according to Shalayev, that Kostroma's national patriotic movement, which includes not only General Sterligov's supporters but also the spiritually close Barkashovites and Black Hundreds, is rising up. In Shalayev's opinion this movement is a real force in Kostroma: Over 2,000 national patriots could be mustered for a serious event.

One such measure due to take place soon is a torchlight procession through the city streets, which is being planned by Kostroma's patriotic movement to mark its latest anniversary. Mr. Shalayev added that they even have supporters in the current city duma, although in the coming elections they hope to obtain a majority of seats in the city duma.

"This is needed to impose order in all power structures," Shalayev said. "The only people who can help Russians are Russians. Why are many of our top jobs posts occupied by Chechens, Azerbaijanis, or Jews? I do not understand. If all senior posts were occupied only by Russians (but not merely Russian-speakers), some things in our lives would maybe change. Only the Russian idea is capable of extricating Russia from the crisis."

One cannot help thinking of historical parallels. I recall that the great leader of the socialist revolution urged Bolsheviks to capture railroad stations and the telegraph service in order to seize power. As you can see, the national patriots are taking another route because they believe that the quickest way to a voter's heart is through his stomach, that is to say through the market and the bazaar.

Economic Issues

Yeltsin Calls For 'Balanced' Privatization Approach

MK0612142295 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 6 Dec 95 p 2

[Report by Dmitriy Volkov: "Boris Yeltsin Is Against 'Abridgment of Interests' in Loans-for-Shares"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday, Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin went to the "Barvikha" sanatorium and reported to Boris Yeltsin on how the president's edict "On a Procedure for the Transfer in 1995 of Federally-Owned Shares" is being implemented. The president "drew attention to the need for a balanced approach in conducting the cash-based stage of privatization, stressing that it should not abridge the interests of either individual persons in Russia or the state as a whole," the head of state's press service reported. A "balanced approach" is, however, being hampered by the ever worsening conflict of interests of various financial groups that are trying to establish control over the most attractive pieces of property in Russia.

Apparently the head of state's utterance was not so much prompted by a desire to point to the inadmissibility of the current scandals in the field of privatization as by an intention to put these scandals into a form that can to some degree measure up to generally accepted ideas of decency. Otherwise, it is hard to explain Boris Yeltsin's desire to "balance" such patently market-related factors as a correlation between the common good and the interests of citizens and their associations. However, this "balancing," which attempts to reduce this correlation to zero, only helps to reduce treasury revenues from auctions to zero, since financiers who have earned the greatest influence in the power structures can make the state sell cheap. Entrepreneurs' success will also be minimized by the state's being too demanding and expecting major political donations from the competitors.

Finance Ministry Upbeat on Budget, Inflation

MK0712101095 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 5 Dec 95 p 3

[Report by Boris Boyko: "Vladimir Petrov Has Accorded the Government a Passive Role"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Will the draft federal budget, submitted for a second reading to the State Duma, be approved tomorrow? For the Russian economy this question is now becoming a key one. Last Friday [1 December] Economy Minister Yevgeniy Yasin indicated that the government is ready to make further concessions with only one end in view — to make sure that the budget is approved before 1996. A readiness to make diplomacy his second profession for the time being was also demonstrated at a press conference yesterday by First Deputy Finance Minister Vladimir Petrov. The message of his presentation was clear: "The government is ready for broad compromises."

Budget-96 Must Be Approved

It will be recalled that on its second reading, parliament is to approve the article-by-article breakdown of budget expenditures within the framework of revenues, expenditures, and the deficit already approved on its first reading. Stating that there are no disagreements left between

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the government and parliament, the first deputy minister in effect repeated a quite witty passage by the economy minister, who on Friday referred to parliament as the boss in the process of budget consideration. Vladimir Petrov expressed approximately the same idea, but in different words: "It is up to the lawmakers to look at expenditures. The government plays a passive role here."

Nonetheless, this distancing did not prevent Petrov from expressing concern over the preparation of the draft budget for its second reading. He cautiously indicated that "difficulties" could arise in adopting the budget — not between the government and parliament, but between parliamentarians and the Budget Committee. According to him, a number of contradictions between the committee and the Agrarian faction give rise to serious concern. Although Petrov did not specify the nature of these contradictions, they are generally known: During the first reading the Agrarians proposed increasing the share of the agro-industrial complex's expenditures from 3 percent to 5 percent, but other factions blocked the proposal.

A second contradiction has emerged between the Budget Committee and the Federation Council, which is discontented with the transfer scheme envisioned in the budget, i.e. a mechanism for the distribution of funds from regions with a surplus to those that need subsidizing. According to Petrov, the draft budget uses a classic federalism scheme, fine-tuned over the past two years, whereby approximately half the regions (according to the latest data, 44) are recognized as being subsidy-dependent [dotatsionnymi]. Upper house members for their part say that there are many more subsidy-dependent regions, and that therefore the budget does not implement the principle of federalism. Commenting on the opinion of the upper house, Petrov could not restrain himself: "I am always outraged when people fail to read even an explanatory memo to the budget."

Budget-95 Must Be Fulfilled

Vladimir Petrov's information about the execution of the 1995 budget is also noteworthy ("The question constantly being asked is: Where does the government take the money from"). As it transpired, the money comes from the budget, and the level of financing budget expenditures, according to Petrov, "will for the first time be quite high." Toward the end of the year, according to Finance Ministry estimates, the level of financing budget expenditures will constitute 95 percent of the target. This allowed the deputy finance minister to state proudly: "The 1995 budget will be executed while our opponents have proved to be not quite right." Such possibilities, according to Petrov, appeared, first, as a result of the acceleration of the stabilization of production volumes — and with it, a sharp increase in tax revenues. Second, because sufficient [hard] currency reserves have been accumulated, it has now become possible to direct currency revenues to finance economic needs. Furthermore, privatization revenues have started coming in, and it is planned to get 2.9 trillion rubles in December. All this will allow for reducing the budget debt in November-December.

In the course of the press conference some unexpected appraisals of the inflation level for 1996 were made. Petrov directly linked the fall in inflation in the second half of this year with the final termination of emission-based financing of the budget deficit through Central Bank credits. In this connection he repeated: "There are no monetary reasons for a growth in inflation!" According to him, even the average monthly inflation level envisioned in the draft budget adopted in the first reading (1.9 percent) is exaggerated. The real level for 1996 will be 1.2-1.5 percent, Petrov believes.

Finance Ministry Denies 'Special Relationship' With Bank

LD0712072095 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1613 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 6 Dec (BUSINESS-TASS) — The Finance Ministry of the Russian Federation today officially denied some mass media reports that it has "any special relationship with the Menatep bank". A statement of the press service of the Finance Ministry of the Russian Federation, received by BUSINESS-TASS, says that the Menatep bank is involved in financing a number of large state programs using only its own money reserves and money reserves brought in.

Commenting on the scandalous situation which has arisen around the state package of YUKOS oil company shares, the press service of the Russian Finance Ministry reported that as of 1800 [1500 GMT] on 5 December of this year participants in a consortium made up of Inkombank, the "Rossiyskiy kredit" bank and Alfa-bank had deposited only 82 million dollars instead of the 350 million required to take part in the investment competition for the right to purchase 33 percent of the YUKOS company shares.

It is noted that documents on the deposition of GKO [short-time government bonds] put up by them cannot be accepted as providing collateral for investments inasmuch as this is an infringement of the conditions of the competition. Depositing of funds only in rubles or U.S. dollars at a special blocked account is envisaged. For this reason the consortium's document for participation in the securities auction (for 45 percent of the YUKOS

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shares) were not registered, inasmuch as only participants in the investment competition are allowed to take part in it.

Central Bank Aide Claims New U.S. Dollar Bills Forged

MM0612142595 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 6 Dec 95 p 1

[Unattributed report: "People, Be Vigilant! These Dollar Bills Do Not Exist Yet" — report is accompanied by an illustration of a U.S. 100-dollar bill]

[FBIS Translated Text] Although 1996-model 100-dollar bills do not yet exist, Aleksandr Khandruyev, first deputy chairman of the Central Bank of the Russian Federation, made a sensational statement at a press conference: "Four cases involving the manufacture of forged dollar bills of the new model have already been uncovered on Russian territory." Thereby causing much perplexity to specialists professionally concerned with counterfeiters.

"We have no such information," Vladimir Uskov, chief of a department of the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Main Administration for Economic Crime, asserts. "Maybe they discovered something themselves at the Central Bank, and are hiding it from us? Such things happen...."

Attempts to discover the source of Mr. Khandruyev's information or the actual addresses and methods of manufacture of the forgeries at the Central Bank itself unfortunately led nowhere. In short, until such time as the U.S. Federal Reserve System (FRS) officially unveils the new bill, it is necessary to disregard any unfamiliar "dollars" with great caution, in the view of Aleksey Sednin, chief of the Central Bank press service. At the moment, the Americans are very vague about the schedule for the appearance of the new 100- dollar bills — "early 1996." What does that mean — 1 January? 15 January? Or maybe February?

A poster showing the new bill, presented to the Central Bank by the U.S. Embassy in Moscow specially for the press conference, is merely an outline drawing, complete with the warning note — "color reproduction prohibited."

Nonetheless, let us mention once again the main differences between the 1996 100-dollar bill and earlier ones, which — please note! — are not being withdrawn from circulation and will be accepted at their full value.

In all there are eight differences. First, there is the stamp of the U.S. FRS instead of an indication of the Federal Reserve district in which the bank note was issued (the alphanumeric symbols next to the series number serve to identify the emitting Federal Reserve bank). Second, a polymer protective thread with the micro-text "USA 100," which can only be seen in a bright light. We will report the other six differences later.

In the view of U.S. experts, the new dollars are virtually impossible to forge. Let us see what the counterfeiters' reply to that will be....

Fake $100 Notes May Flood Nation

MK0712113995 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 5 Dec 95 pp 1, 5

[Report by Yelena Bazhenova under the "Central Bank News Conference" rubric: "The Central Bank Expects a Flood of Counterfeit $100 Notes"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A news conference attended by Central Bank Deputy Chairman Aleksandr Khandruyev; Viktor Melnikov, chief of the Main Administration for Currency Regulation and Control; and Aleksandr Yurov, director of the Department of Issuance and Cashier Operations, was held at the Central Bank yesterday. The news conference was devoted to certain aspects of putting new $100 banknotes into circulation. The Central Bank expects that counterfeiters will try to do everything possible to get rid of old-style fake money.

Journalists who gathered at the Central Bank for the news conference yesterday expected to hear yet again what have already become conventional assertions that the introduction of new $100 bills does not mean that the old ones will be confiscated or invalidated. Representatives of the Central Bank touched on a different subject, however. Speakers noted that the main problem accompanying the introduction of new banknotes will be an increase in the number of counterfeit notes, because the manufacturers of fake money will try to sell their products by hook or by crook. By the Central Bank's preliminary estimates, as many as several billion fake U.S. dollars could surface in Russia early next year. For this reason the Bank of Russia has called on the population to be more careful, to use only the services of respectable banks, and not to exchange currency in the street. Central Bank spokesmen did not rule out that "one-day exchange offices" could emerge for the sole purpose of selling fake money.

High-ranking representatives of the Central Bank cited several methods of avoiding risk, such as depositing cash dollars in bank accounts or waiting until the exchange spree, which will apparently be inevitable, is over and the situation returns to normal.

Another unpleasant novelty related to the introduction of new banknotes may be substantial commission fees charged by banks for exchanging old bills for new

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ones. According to the Central Bank spokesmen, this procedure will entail extra costs related to checking both old and new bills, so the banks can still charge the commission fees. Participants in the news conference expressed the hope, however, that "our bankers will be reasonable," and the commission fee will not exceed 1-2 percent. Furthermore, the Central Bank is particularly counting on competition between banks. Presently, for instance, Russian banks keep commission fees at their exchange offices down to what is the minimum percentage by world standards (less than 1 percent), which, as the bankers said, testifies to a high degree of competition on the cash market. Aleksandr Khandruyev said that in the near future the Central Bank will hold a series of meetings with representatives of seven Russian banks that import hard currency and will hold yet another news conference on their results. In practice, it all may bring about a situation where banks buy old banknotes at less favorable exchange rates than new ones.

The Central Bank is not going to give up its plans to limit the appetites of banks that may set excessive commission fees, however. The Central Bank spokesmen said that a special telephone will be set up before long to which any customer can call to complain about irregularities in the operation of any exchange office. Moreover, currently the Central Bank is drawing up a document that will simplify the procedure for depriving banks of the right to carry out cash operations with foreign currency.

Power Industry Engineering Giant Under New Management

MM0712085395 Moscow TRUD in Russian 6 Dec 95 p 1

[Report by Aleksandr Isayev: "Atommash Run by Outside Management"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Rostov-na-Donu — The Rostov court of arbitration has adopted a ruling introducing outside management at the Atommash plant. The giant on the coast of the Tsimlyanskoye Sea, which was designed to be the flagship of domestic machine-building for the power industry, has recently almost come to a standstill and owes enormous sums of money to its creditors. The specter of unemployment was been hanging over the thousands-strong collective. Outside management should help lead the plant, which has now become a joint-stock company, out of the crisis, and enable it to improve its financial position.

Aleksandr Stepanov, vice president of the Energomash corporation, which brings together 13 plants, has been appointed arbitration manager.

There was a small contest over Atommash before outside management was established. One of the investors — a representative of the Moscow Yakonto firm — put himself forward as a candidate for the post of manager. He promised big orders for the enterprise, including orders for the nuclear power station being built in Iran, for space installations, and for the reconstruction of old Russian cosmodromes and the planned construction of new ones in Blagoveshchensk and Yemen. But the collegium of three judges, preferred the representative of the Energomash corporation.

Position of Metals Sector Has 'Deteriorated Sharply'

MM0712085895 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 Dec 95 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Is the Sector Bankrupt?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The losses of Russian metallurgical enterprises in 1995 will amount to 17 trillion rubles, Leonid Shevelev, deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Committee for Metallurgy, told a session of the sector directors' council yesterday.

According to him, the financial state and solvency of metallurgical enterprises has deteriorated sharply since the middle of the year. This is due to the faster growth in prices for the products and services of sectors which form natural monopolies and to the introduction of the currency band.

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International Affairs

Kiev Hopes To Participate in Restoration of Bosnia

LD0712121395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1104 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KIEV, Dec 7 (Interfax - Ukraine) - The Ukrainian delegation to the London conference on Bosnia scheduled to open on December 8 will declare Ukraine's wish to take a most active part in the post-war restoration of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

This was disclosed to Interfax - Ukraine by Vladimir Yelchenko, Chief of the International Organizations Department of the Foreign Ministry, who will be among the Ukrainian delegation led by Foreign Minister Gennady Udovenko.

The diplomat recalled that in strictly observing the sanctions against Yugoslavia, Ukraine sufferred considerable direct and indirect losses. According to Yelchenko, the Ukrainian leaders realise that hope for a compensation for these losses is unrealistic. Yet, he believes "we can compensate for them on our own."

To this end, in Yelchenko's view, Ukraine should "effectively and speedily" restore her ties with all the countries of former Yugoslavia, which can be facilitated due to the biggest river fleet among the Danube countries, and take an active part in the economic rehabilitation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

For the post-war restoration of Bosnia's economy a special fund is to be set up, which is to be announced at a special meeting in Brussels, of the donor countries of the restoration process in former Yugoslavia.

According to some estimates, Yelchenko said, the fund may reach up to six thousand million dollars. At the same time, he noted that the procedure of distribution of these funds is not clear so far.

The Ukrainian diplomat believes, however, that recommendations on this issue will be outlined both at the London and the Brussels meetings.

Most heavily hit by the fratricidal war in Bosnia and Herzegovina was the infrastructure - roads, bridges, and power transmission lines. Ukrainian specialists, he believes, can do the restoration work, and "at a cost considerably lower than their Western colleagues."

According to Yelchenko, this matter is under personal control of Ukraine's Prime Minister Yevhen Marchuk. The ministries concerned have been instructed to prepare proposals on this issue.

Ukraine will take an active part in the examination of all other items on the agenda of the London meeting: international control of the future elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina, efforts for the observance of human rights, the problems of refugees and national minorities. To resolve these issues Ukraine offers her experience and personnel, he said.

A special office will be set up to coordinate efforts by all the international structures involved in the post-war restoration of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Yelchenko said. It will be led by the so-called High Commissioner, whose personnel could include experienced Ukrainian specialists.

The most acceptable candidate to the office of High Commissioner could be Karl Bildt, Yelchenko believes. "If he is nominated, Ukraine will support his candidature," Yelchenko said.

Udovenko Expresses 'Astonishment' at Romanian Statement

LD0612162695 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1238 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Qingdao (China), December 6 (Interfax - Ukraine) — Ukrainian Foreign Minister Hennadiy Udovenko expressed "astonishment" at the statement by Romania's Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu on the issue on Zmeyniy island (Black Sea).

Answering the question of a Parliament deputy on December 4, the Romanian Foreign Minister referred to "refusal of the Ukrainian authorities to return the said territories to our country".

He also said that if no agreement on territorial issue was reached at the talks, Romania would apply to the International Court.

Speaking in an interview with an "IF-U" correspondent, who is among the Ukrainian delegation to the PRC, Hennadiy Udovenko said that he evaluates the Romanian Minister's statement as "a manifestation of Romania's claims to the territories of Ukraine".

"Ukraine strictly abides by the Helsinki agreements, above all the principle of inviolability of borders, sealed in them, and demands that other signatories to the Helsinki act do the same", he said.

"Inobservance of this principle may lead Europe to a catastrophe", the Ukrainian Minister emphasized.

"I would wish to state in all responsibility that under no pressure will Ukraine forgo her territorial integrity", he said.

H. Udovenko recalled that in November 1994 all the nuclear powers granted Ukraine guarantees of her security and territorial integrity.

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We do not overlook either the fact that Romania wishes to join NATO and the question of territorial claims to Ukraine cannot but emerge in the examination of this request.

The statement by the Romanian Foreign Minister, he said, "will be attentively studies by us". According to him, Ukrainian Ambassador to Romania Oleksandr Chalyy will be summoned to Kiev soon for consultations.

The Ukrainian Foreign Ministry, H. Udovenko said, will also inform the Ukrainian President and Government on the emerging situation.

At the same time, H. Udovenko said that Ukraine intends to "carry on the process of negotiations" and is interested "in having normal, good-neighbourly relations with the neighboring countries.

Yet, at those talks Ukraine will continue upholding its stand as regards the inviolability of borders, the Ukrainian Foreign Minister pointed out.

Ukraine Reaffirms Commitment to Banning Inhumane Weapons

LD0712095195 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1535 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Kiev — Ukraine consistently supports the banning of inhumane weapons, particularly antipersonnel mines, said Deputy Foreign Minister Volodymyr Khandohiy, who is heading a Ukrainian delegation at the 26th International Conference of the Red Cross and the Red Crescent, during a discussion on the protection of civilians during armed conflicts, UNIAN learned from the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry's press center.

According to Volodymyr Khandohiy, proof of this was provided by Ukraine's announcement of a moratorium on the export of these types of weapons, its active involvement in the first conference of member-states of the convention on the prohibition or restrictive use of certain types of conventional weapons, as well as its readiness to provide expert mine-clearing services to various countries. The Ukrainian representative called for more international cooperation on this matter. [passage omitted]

National Affairs

Kuchma Views Government Changes, Chernobyl, Reforms

AU0612174095 Ivano-Frankivsk HALYCHYNA in Ukrainian 28 Nov 95 p 3

[Report by Bohdan Vivchar on news conference by President Leonid Kuchma in Ivano-Frankivsk on 24 November: "It Is Only by Our Own Labor That We Will Build the Ukrainian State"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Correspondent] Mr. President, you were elected by the east [of Ukraine], but supported by the west. What is your attitude toward such a metamorphosis?

[Kuchma] Let this remain for the conscience of those people.... I regard this situation as normal. I have stated and state now that I am president of all Ukraine. It is not easy to find support at a time of reforms. This is what fate has reserved for me. However, we must realize that it is impossible to overhaul society in just one year. To improve our lives, we must work and work. There is no other way....

[Correspondent] Are any changes in the government being contemplated? [end correspondent]

After praising Vice Prime Minister Anatoliy Kinakh and a few other "chaps," Leonid Kuchma pointed out that changes in the government are to be expected and that it is time that the government did some real work. He meant replacing the coal industry minister and head of the State Committee for Atomic Energy.

(However, if one takes into account that Prime Minister Yevhen Marchuk put forward his candidacy for the forthcoming elections to the Supreme Council, he, too, wants to insure himself against unexpected collisions in the course of government reforms — author.)

Regarding the recent visit to Latin America, the president emphasized that once again, during the Latin American visit, he had become convinced that the world knew of us as a highly developed technological state and that we were held in esteem for our advanced ship and aircraft building, space technology, and achievements in designing and building foodstuff production lines. We have no right to forfeit these achievements.

Speaking about plans to close down the Chernobyl nuclear power station, Kuchma stressed that everything depended upon funds allocated by the G-7. More specifically, it was not so much the world that wanted to help Ukraine, as Ukraine wanted to help the world. The most serious problems concern the sarcophagus, the storage of spent fuel, and social protection for the collective. We have "experience" with withdrawal of tactical nuclear weapons from our territory, when we gave up for nothing nuclear fuel that would have sufficed for six years of operations of our nuclear plants. With the same haste, we cut our tanks to fulfill the CFE treaty concluded with the Soviet Union. This, even though our neighbors do the opposite....

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[Correspondent] When will the OUN-UPA [Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists-Ukrainian Insurrection Army] be recognized as a warring side in World War II?

[Kuchma] I have repeatedly returned to this issue. It is difficult for us to judge those who, in the years of the war disaster, stood on different sides of the front. I have already proposed that the next five years be proclaimed as years of reconciliation. We have the example of Spain, where, at the end of the civil war, casualties on both sides were buried in the same graves and joint monuments were dedicated to them. Events in Chile, it seems to me, also took place recently, but there, too, reconciliation was reached. We have no other way. The sooner we realize this, the better it will be for Ukraine.

[Correspondent] Do you feel support from the democratic part of parliament?

[Kuchma] You see for yourself what kind of discipline some forces (left-wing — Author) display when it is necessary to organize a rally or reject a particular legislative bill. Unfortunately, in many cases, general state interests do not impress our democrats. In return for support, they wish to see themselves as ministers, vice prime ministers, or even prime ministers. The old saying again proves true: Two Ukrainians — three hetmans....

[Correspondent] How do you see Ukraine in the context of the new Constitution?

[Kuchma] As a parliamentary-presidential state. Unfortunately, there is no force in parliament that would take upon itself responsibility for the state. Just 450 people cannot decide its fate....

[Correspondent] Once we maintain the Russian Black Sea Fleet on our territory, is it also worth inviting the NATO fleet to the Black Sea?

[Kuchma] There is a problem with the Black Sea Fleet. Russia will not leave voluntarily, even though it is not investing a cent in servicing the fleet or developing its infrastructure. However, sooner or later, we must solve this problem.

[Correspondent] What impressed you most during your visit to Ciscarpathia?

[Kuchma] People, who spoke kindly to the president, wished him good health, and expressed support for the course of reforms....

Leonid Kuchma thanked the audience for the sincere welcome and stressed that there was no way back and that it was necessary to advance and build our independent state.

Navy Commander Interviewed on Black Sea Fleet

WS0712095595 Kiev INTELNEWS in English 0010 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sevastopol, Dec. 5 — Navy Commander Volodymyr Bezkorovayny said after the division of the Black Sea Fleet, the Ukrainian Navy will have about 170 vessels of all classes at its disposal. The commander spoke in an interview with the newspaper "FLOT UKRAINY."

The admiral said the Navy has made excellent progress in forming units and training ship crews in the past year, including moving toward permanent battle readiness and participating in NATO's Partnership for Peace program. Bezkorovayny said Ukraine has ships, airplanes, helicopters and marine units up and running for the program, which has so far concentrated on training for multinational peace-keeping missions.

"The multipurpose universal ships of the 'Fregat' type, equipped with percussive and other types of modern weapons, will solve all tasks of the Navy," Bezkorovayny said.

Interior Minister on Crime Situation

WS0712110095 Kiev ZERKALO NEDELI in Russian 18-24 Nov 95 p 2

[Interview with Interior Minister Yuriy Kravchenko by Yuliya Mostovaya: "Criminal Redistribution of Property Is Under Way in the State" — place and date not given; first two paragraphs are ZERKALO NEDELI introduction; passage in bold is Yuliya Mostovaya's note]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 10 November, Russia, a legal successor of the former Soviet Union not only with regard to the gold reserves but also Soviet holidays — celebrated Militia Day. The ORT television channel aired a concert devoted to the guards of order — an event that had been considered for many years the second most popular after the New Year's "Blue Light" program. I squirmed when I was looking at the hosts spreading unction left and right; many of their remarks sounded insincere and their smiles looked forced. The treacle flowing from the stage was entirely out of line with the information on the growing crime and corruption in Russian society.

The Ukrainian militia has not yet celebrated its professional holiday. On that day, it was protecting order as usual — to the extent that its strength and abilities allowed it. To expand these abilities and make the militia stronger, Ukrainian Interior Minister Yuriy Kravchenko discussed on 13 November with his Russian counterpart Anatoliy Kulikov prospects for cooperation between the

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two Interior Ministries. I asked the Ukrainian interior minister to talk about that meeting in greater detail.

[Kravchenko] I would like to start answering this question by taking a retrospective look. In 1992, Ukraine signed cooperation and mutual assistance agreements with all former Soviet republics, including the Russian Federation. There was a large meeting of interior ministers, and in the context of this agreement's implementation, we concluded that since 1993 (and it is November 1995 now), we, unfortunately, have not had any meetings at the ministerial level, even though problems that had to be tackled by the Ukrainian and Russian Interior Ministries required more active personal contacts. Some leaders were changed, and there were certain problems not only with the worsening criminal situation in Russia, but also with the political situation there, which did not allow the ministers to have a closer interaction.

As a matter of fact, we have always felt an inadequate attitude of the Russian [Interior] Ministry toward, for example, the "3 October" events [standoff between Yeltsin and the legislature]. Some individuals of "Caucasian nationality" (as they were dubbed) started to leave Moscow, going through Ukraine and other regions. We identified that movement early and undertook preventive and controlling measures.

The Chechnya issue had an impact on Ukraine, too. Hot spots — Abkhazia and Armenia — make Ukraine abundant in weapons, ammunition, and explosives. The most alarming thing is criminal business circles that are consolidating more dynamically and aggressively. They pursue only one goal — to make profits, and there are no holds barred in reaching this goal. As a result, the Ukrainian and Russian people are suffering. Here are some statistical figures from one sphere only: More than 100 cars are stolen daily in Ukraine alone. We catch about 60 percent of the thieves, returning to the car owners what can be returned — sometimes it is a whole car, and sometimes only parts of it. Unfortunately, most of the cars sneak through customs posts and borders, including Russian ones. Last year, Kiev operatives smashed a large ring that had stolen about 100 vehicles. This problem seriously damages interests of both Ukraine and Russia. This is why we are trying to actively cooperate.

There are also other directions [of cooperation], such as drug trafficking. There were two cases of hard drugs being found in Ukraine. Hard drugs are chemically manufactured drugs, such as heroin. We confiscated a 10-kg batch of heroin that made its way across Turkey and Germany. Last year, we followed the route of a 6-kg batch of cocaine, running through Latin America, Germany, Kiev, and Moscow. It was a joint operation. Our colleagues from Germany and Russia worked at the Boryspil Airport. They apprehended the couriers who were carrying drugs.

Crime has no nationality. An active and dynamic consolidation of criminal forces is now in progress. It is based on markets, zones of influence, and profits. These were exactly the topics discussed with Russian colleagues. I was accompanied by heads of units fighting against economic and organized crime. Since the market infrastructure in Russia is developing faster than in our country, they are in a better position to watch all negative consequences accompanying this process. We exchanged opinions on the need to prevent penetration of crir inal elements into the banking system and introduce a tighter control over this system on the part of law-enforcement agencies. Let me note that the Russian police have new forms of work.

I think that it is a curious fact that the both sides are interested in medical rehabilitation of Interior Affairs Ministry workers. We have retained quite a good network of medical facilities. Russia has such a network as well. For the national currency, we could receive a certain number of Russian Interior Ministry operatives for recuperation. Also, we are considering a joint completion of a sanatorium in Yevpatoriya and its subsequent joint use.

In addition, we exchanged opinions on the issues related to reforms of the Interior Ministry agencies. In its present form, the police is incapable of coping with modern challenges. Emphasis is being shifted to strengthening law enforcement functions and releasing the police from tasks atypical for them. The Interior Ministry structure should be streamlined. For example, why should we run passport departments? We conducted lengthy discussions on how to determine the degree of usefulness of those departments in combating crime. It proved very meager. When we have various types of ownership, residence registration, which is designed to perform a rigid controlling function, loses its significance. A question arises here: Is it a function of the Interior Ministry? It seems that security and protection of compatriots should have priority over responsibilities uncharacteristic for the ministry. Those units could probably work as part of the Justice Ministry.

We also raised the question of the patrol service. Problems with order in the streets do not always occur because there is not enough police force there. Another reason may be that legal powers of policemen are limited. The patrol services should enforce the law. Russia, for example, is moving to give this service investigative powers. This is a complex problem. With some training and instruction, a sergeant working in the street could

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easily take over some of the process, questioning witnesses and examining the crime scene before the arrival of an investigator. That way he saves much time, the lost amount of which is inversely proportional to success. In our country, the patrol function is performed according to the following pattern: You see [perpetrators] and then you catch [them]. But if a man actively influences the process, he knows that he has to find witnesses and undertake measures to chase the criminal. This results in a psychological transformation: From a passive participant of the process, he transforms into an utterly new qualitative form. This, however, is only possible with a certain amount of training.

In Moscow, by the way, we also discussed the possible exchange of experts in various fields. I think that exchange of police officers from Ukraine and the Russian Federation is a very important thing. The Ukrainian and Russian Interior Ministries would undertake to ensure accommodation and transportation for them. Although we did not discuss specific dates, I believe that one exchange term can last several years and then be followed by rotation. We have already tried that, for example, with Israel and Hungary. It is time to start such a project with Russia.

[Mostovaya] I have the impression that in our country, the crime situation is the worst in Crimea and Donetsk — areas where the Russian influence is strongest. Do you agree that there is such a correlation?

[Kravchenko] I attribute it to other factors — with the redistribution of property, for example. The most tasty morsel is Crimea, and the most profitable region is Donetsk, with its coal industry. Those who establish control over that market may become very rich in the future. **ZERKALO NEDELI has learned that Donetsk Oblast Council Chairman Anatoliy Shcherban the other day invited ten businessmen from each rayon of the oblast for a meeting. Among other things discussed at the meeting was the need for business people from Donetsk Oblast to form a single alliance against new politicians that made their way to the power leadership and now cast an eye on the Donesk Oblast market, which — to be sure — should not be given away to outsiders.** There is another issue which I have the right to raise. For many years, Crimea, perhaps because of its special status in Ukraine and a certain attitude of Moscow, was a dependant. The years of independence showed that Interior Ministry troops never left Crimea. To some extent, this obliterated the ability of its leaders to make independent decisions. Everyone is waiting for orders. Unfortunately, this situation reflects on order and countermeasures against crimes. On the other hand, I do not think that things are hopeless there. Some groups were apprehended and stand trial. This process is moving but not as fast as we would like.

As for Donetsk, it probably has its own distinctive features. They include political attractiveness and the ability to influence the situation of people who never occupied high positions and have now amassed some capital, which can have an impact on election results. Besides, I would not view this issue from the local perspective, and based on territorial considerations. We should not forget that we are still working under old laws. But conditions in which those laws are applied have changed. The old Soviet system of people's courts, where the judge ruled, is now in disarray. The inadequate reaction of the police, prosecutor's offices, and courts results in certain distortions of the final result. For example, when he went to Donetsk and acquainted himself with criminal cases, the new general prosecutor, for some reason, issued an order to arrest five or eight individuals — something that the local prosecutor never did... Such acts have a very negative effect.

Speaking of the criminal situation as a whole, let me note that in 4,500 cases involving charges of extortion (under Article 144), 900 plaintiffs renounced their initial testimony. About 700 cases were dismissed due to procedural considerations. These are all examples of the imperfection of our law, which also reflects on the crime situation. Last year, 65 leaders of various ranks, including state officials, were killed. But all those killed had been involved with the shadow economy. I have no right to say that all of them were criminal, but they were implicated in operations that, to put it mildly, were in conflict with the law. This prompts an opinion that the visible part of their lives, which manifested itself in brawls and shoot-outs, was a result of the concealed life they lived in other dimensions.

In our opinion, the reasons are only too obvious. We are now witnessing the criminal redistribution of property and a fight for new markets and zones of influence. An ostentatiously law-abiding citizen or even a respected official orders the murder of his colleague. The mayor of Skadovsk ordered the murder of his counterpart from Genichesk, paid $7,000, and hired a hitman. In eight months, the police found these two murderers. It is a situation where some state officials cross the line, indirectly creating conditions for crimes, and sometimes exerting a direct influence on things in the region. Perhaps law enforcement institutions should adapt themselves to this situation. The underworld is investing money, and diversifying from ordinary extortion into politics. We could see that during the last elections, and it is also happening in the current preelection campaign. I realize that may be unfair to some representatives of power, but this is what we see,

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and the present situation is reminiscent of the "slug years" in Italy when the political and criminal powers there started to merge and threaten the state's very existence. The president's statement that crime should cease to exist as the fifth power is very timely and to the point. It can only exist within the borders of ordinary crime, even though organized crime is typical in a market system.

[Mostovaya] So, how can we fight it?

[Kravchenko] Recently, we have attempted to take a Western photograph and put it in a Ukrainian frame. If we talk about a systemic crisis, a remedy to cure this malady should also have a systemic nature. And it will not cover only the top or lower levels of power, but the entire system of social organization. Only then can we count on success.

[Mostovaya] What percentage of the personnel do you trust?

[Kravchenko] Let me operate with figures — I do not want to insult anyone. As many as 305 individuals have been arrested. Almost 1,000 policemen are under investigation. As the entire police force consists of 230,000 individuals, you can easily make calculations. I believe that most of our people are honest and committed to their work. Receiving only symbolic wages, they risk their lives and continue to work due to their enthusiasm. Of course, the collapse of the old cadre system has badly affected the level of professionalism. We will not have our own professionals with specific education before 1996.

In my opinion, a system that is not capable of self-purification is doomed to death. We have now adopted entirely new approaches, including the contract system, public assessment of management, a closer relationship between the police and the population, a code of honor, and relevant training programs in our educational institutions. These are some of the initiatives that will help us create the police anew. I am sure that with the present condition of the force and its technical and intellectual potential, it is impossible to mend the police only by increasing wages. At present, I see no task whose implementation would be worth dying for. Only the priority of personal security will help a police officer cope with his tasks; 60 lives this year and as many last year... This is inadmissible.

Legislators Forecast Elections Results

WS0612153795 Kiev VSEUKRAINSKIYE VEDOMOSTI in Russian 30 Nov 95 p 3

[Article by Tetyana Melnychuk: "Who Will Swell the Ranks of Lawmakers? Current Deputies Await Novices Without Particular Enthusiasm"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Soon the day will come on which the Ukrainian Supreme Council will be replenished (if it will) by newly-elected people's deputies. However, the entire process of the election campaign indicates that this fact primarily inspires only candidates themselves. People's deputies of the 13th Supreme Council are not awaiting their future colleagues with particular enthusiasm. Although there are some exceptions, a pessimistic atmosphere prevails. It is interesting that for some unknown reasons, representatives of opposing ideological orientations are inclined to forecast better results for their rivals than for themselves. There are even cases of accusations. Thus, Petro Symonenko, leader of the parliamentary communist faction and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party [KPU], maintains that the executive power "pushes" "its" men into deputies ranks by hook or by crook and uses opportunities to affect the by-election process. Being deprived of all kinds of loopholes, the communists decided "to follow another path." They are going to prove the advantages of their candidates by direct contacts with "simple people."

Incidentally, there is quite a large number of KPU candidates: The communists will try to "cover" 23 out of 45 "open" constituencies. Nevertheless, Symonenko's forecast with regard to the party affiliation of future deputies was very cautious: "This will be resolved by the electorate, for this is their right." This kind of laconic expression undoubtedly indicates that the communists' leader realizes all the difficulties the KPU will encounter on its path to victory. He admitted that "the most difficult situation for us will be in western oblasts, where the Greek Catholic Church is actively engaged in the election campaign."

It is typical of centrists that they also avoid categorical statements in their conclusions, but they are more specific. Valeriy Cherep, chairman of the Supreme Council Commission for Basic Industries and Regional Socioeconomic Development Issues has said the following: "I want the by-elections to be valid. It is very important that Kiev residents come to polling stations given that the largest number of constituencies (17) which do not have representatives in the Supreme Council are in the capital. I forecast that the elections will be valid in 22-23 out of 45 constituencies. Perhaps I am an optimist, but I really believe that this will turn out to be true."

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It is interesting that regardless of all his optimism, Valeriy Cherep's forecasts with regard to the city of Kiev are not very comforting. According to his "rough estimates", it should be regarded as great luck if deputies are elected at most in seven or eight out of 17 existing constituencies.

However, centrists do not have a common opinion on the results of the future by-elections. The words of another centrist chairman are proof of that. "It is very doubtful that the elections will be valid," says Oleh Taranov, chairman of the Supreme Council Commission for Issues of Economic Policy and Management of the National Economy. Nevertheless, he also believes that the elections will actually be valid in a number of constituencies. In Oleh Taranov's opinion, heads of the administration and high state officials will constitute a considerable percent of "those who will be lucky." He also predicts that also a considerable number of leftists will manage to get into the legislature, as well as those supported by the "Reforms" legislative faction.

It is indicative that "reformers" stick to the optimistic opinion about their high chances to succeed in the elections. Given that they want to secure their success, it has been decided "to test" a long-forgotten method — that of inviting people to come to polling stations on election day (which is not illegal, unlike canvassing on election day). Yuriy Orobets, chairman of the "Reforms" legislative faction, has reported this. As we know, this faction "leads" the team with the meaningful name "We" to the by-elections. What is more, "We" candidates are registered in all the constituencies of the city of Kiev. A total of 21 candidates are being nominated to the legislature under the "Reforms" banner. Mr. Orobets has said that "in addition, we support another 10 candidates who signed a commitment to join our faction in case they win." In his opinion, which coincides with the opinion of the majority of "reformers," not more than 10-20 candidates will succeed in the elections. The city of Kiev will not be particularly lucky this time either. In accordance with the forecasts by Yuriy Orobets, who belongs to the small number of Kiev deputies, Kiev will once again obtain only three to four representatives in the legislature.

Well, forecasts are forecasts, but reality very often comes up with unexpected and even very challenging outcomes. Perhaps for this reason, proceeding from experience, Ihor Yukhnovskyy, chairman of the "Statehood" legislative faction, has expressed his forecast this way: "I would like the Supreme Council to obtain its deputies, and I would like the electorate to obtain its representatives." Well, this would not be bad, and moreover: How can one object to this statement?

Economic Issues

Deputy Finance Minister Warns of Spending Cuts

LD0412190995 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 4 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev — Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma has issued a directive under which ministries and departments will review enforceable enactments that relate to the financing of various programs. The reason for this is that it is impossible to finance all the measures envisaged by Ukrainian legislation from the 1996 state budget. This was said by Deputy Finance Minister Volodymyr Matviychuk at a joint session of parliamentary commissions today, which examined the concept of Ukraine's state budget for 1996 drawn up by the government.

According to him, "7.1 billion karbovantsi is required in order to finance all measures that are envisaged by Ukrainian legislation in 1996. This amount is equal to Ukraine's planned gross domestic product for 1996." He stressed that it was planned to finance only 52 percent of these measures from the draft budget, which amounted to 3.7 billion karbovantsi. Volodymyr Matviychuk stressed that this forced measure testified to the main principles of the new state budget: To spend only within the state's means. He asked deputies to suspend those legislative acts that do not need urgent financing.

Economics Minister Views Results, Prospects

WS0612134495 Kiev KYYIVSKA PRAVDA in Ukrainian 30 Nov 95 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Economics Minister Vasyl Mykolayovych Hureyev by V. Pyvovarov; place and date not given: "Micro-Level Economic Reform Will Last For Approximately Ten Years" — first two paragraphs are KYYIVSKA PRAVDA introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] This is what Vasyl Mykolayovych Hureyev said about himself: "I am 43 years old. I grew up and studied in Mariupol. I finished a metallurgical specialized secondary school. Having served in the army, I entered a National Economy College in Kiev (it is currently a Kiev Economic University). I rose from a shop superintendent to deputy general director for economic issues in the "Kiyivprylad" Production Association. I was deputy chief of the Main Economic Department in the Industry Ministry. Later I occupied the post of deputy economics minister.

My family is, so to speak, "economic." My wife is also an economist, an accounting and auditing expert. My daughter is a first-year student at the Kiev Economic University."

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[Pyvovarov] Vasyl Mykolayovych, how would you, a man indirectly involved in the management of our economy and the planning of its destiny and ways to reform it, characterize the current economic situation?

[Hureyev] If one analyzes the results of economic performance over nine months, positive tendencies have emerged this year. Except for September and October, we have managed to keep inflation at the level of between 4 and 5 percent. This has positively influenced the issuing of credits to economic entities, our enterprises, and made it possible to reduce the interest rate on loans.

We have begun to settle our foreign debts this year. Having liberalized prices, we have made them comply with expenditures on production. Subsidies to producers in many sectors have been suspended. Having liberalized prices in foreign trade, we have rejected the fixed karbovanets rate that, first of all, has stepped up exports, and second, has made it possible to get rid of the notorious barter, a natural exchange in products.

[Pyvovarov] Given this generally favorable environment, inflation in September nevertheless suddenly jumped to 14.2 percent. What was the reason for such an indicator?

[Hureyev] It is because stabilization in Ukraine is quite unstable. We are at such a stage when even inflationary expectations can affect stabilization and trigger such jumps as in September. We have learned to only partially curb inflation; but to finally defeat it — it is necessary to combine the activities of both the executive and legislative powers.

Here is an example for you: The Supreme Council has touched upon a revision of some legislative clauses which influence the level of prices in the fuel and energy complex. The legislature, however, has not adopted a [revised] clause. Therefore, commercial structures expecting that they would have to make additional deductions to the budget have introduced their expectations into prices, and such increased prices remained.

Or, for example, let us take the next factor of instability: It has been officially announced that a monetary reform would have to be introduced before the end of the year. Hence, a dollar rate has increased. The change in its rate, however, changed prices for imported energy resources, primarily, oil and gas.

In addition, Ukraine has a negative balance in trade payments. Although is has shrunk, it now stands at over $1 billion. Primarily, this is the result of our strong dependence on imported energy resources. This dependence does not shrink, because there is a failure to reduce energy consumption, which is caused by the failure to introduce energy-intensive technologies. Having been unable to achieve this, we depend on the change in the karbovanets rate that triggers changes in prices. Our economy will be sick as long as we are fuel-dependent.

A great number of subsidies, particularly in the setting of charges and fees for municipal services, also affect our budget deficit. Currently, expenditures on some of these subsidies are 70 percent or even only 40 percent covered. To my great regret, we will have to have an increase in fees. Today, we still cannot afford to do this, because we would have to proportionately revise wages and pensions, while there are no funds for this in either the budget or the pension fund.

[Pyvovarov] Previous governments — there have been a lot of them over the last four years — also declared positive changes and stabilization at the macroeconomic level. An ordinary citizen, however, from his own daily viewpoint, observes only constant price increases on practically everything; it is more and more difficult for him to make both ends meet. He has already stopped trusting all assurances of stabilization, which are mythical to him. When will the average citizen feel the results of macroeconomic stabilization?

[Hureyev] This is a correct and serious way to formulate your question. If we have achieved certain results at the macroeconomic level, we still have to do much at the microeconomic level. What exactly? There is a clear-cut program of activities. The first thing to do is to restructure our industry, because its current structure does not fit market conditions.

I will not touch upon the entire complex of problems in this direction, because it is enormous, but will state only one thing: We will not achieve results in restructuring, if we do not turn large enterprises — which have concentrated, sizable reserves — into individual, effectively operating, and competitive producers.

To make an average citizen — as you put it — feel positive changes, the development of light and food industries, or sectors providing quick returns [on investments] and money turnover, will have to become a priority in structural economic changes. We have quite a developed agricultural sector, but until now we have failed to harvest, process, and preserve agricultural products. To upgrade the agricultural sector is among our primary tasks.

The development of science-intensive and modern production is among our specified priorities. We have such industrial sectors — for example, aviation and shipbuilding — in which we have outdone many countries of the world.

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This year, we began to support enterprises financially. On the other hand, we are introducing a mechanism providing for the bankruptcy of specific enterprises. One should not be afraid of this. An agency for reconstruction and bankruptcy of state enterprises is currently being established. We will not only close down enterprises or change the form of their ownership, but try to prove by restructuring them that they can be saved from bankruptcy.

[Pyvovarov] All of us, Vasyl Mykolayovych, understand that it is necessary to upgrade light and food industries, the agricultural sector, and carry out privatization and restructuring. But as they put it, this cannot be done in a day. It is very difficult and tricky to change such a stiff machine as our economy. In other words, we will have to wait a long time for the stabilization at the microeconomic level. Should this be understood in such a way?

[Hureyev] Absolutely true. It is impossible to quickly reform at the microeconomic level. The fact is that this is much more difficult to do than to achieve macroeconomic stabilization: Macroeconomics is related to monetary indicators, while microeconomics is related to each of us. If you want to learn about some specific timeframe for this process, I believe that this will last for approximately ten years.

[Pyvovarov] I would like to ask you about something else from the viewpoint of an average citizen. An ordinary citizen continues to clearly realize that our economy more and more depends on the developed countries of the West; that, roughly speaking, it is a beggar. We cannot live now without the World Bank, the IMF, the G-7, and dozens of international financial organizations. I am far from thinking that in such a way we will become "colonially" dependent on the West. Anyway, this policy demonstrates the lack of trust in our own forces and that we should not rely on them.

[Hureyev] I think that this is a wrong impression. Our task is to attract and use, to the maximum degree possible, first of all, direct foreign investments and technologies and, second, the credits issued by international financial organizations. This is nothing but a rational way to upgrade the economy. We will not invent anything new here: All the countries that experienced a critical situation have travelled along this path. Mutual responsibility for invested and obtained money should become one of the trends in the development of the Ukrainian economy.

[Pyvovarov] This is not the first year that we are taking credits, but there is no return on them or it is extremely low.

[Hureyev] Let us specify what credits we have taken. These are credits to stabilize the karbovanets rate and settle foreign debts. We have asked for quite small amounts of money to support industrial development programs.

Now, the policy for the development of the light and food industries and agricultural production will be based on such credits. Not the state, but specific enterprises, will take credits. The projects drafted by us will be studied by experts, and after their conclusions, the state will provide guarantees to investors for only such programs that envisage obligatory returns on credits.

[Pyvovarov] Prognoses are an ungrateful thing. But in the economy, the result of each specific step is considered. If one does not look to the unspecified future, what changes should one expect in 1996?

[Hureyev] We must shift the emphasis to reforming the microeconomic level, which is what we have already discussed with you. This means structural changes with the continuation of macroeconomic stabilization policy. Specific measures to reduce the inflation rate, the negative payment balance, and the rate of decrease of GDP will be implemented. If this year we have a 12.8- percent decrease in GDP, there are plans to reduce the rate of its decrease to 1.8 percent next year. If the decrease in GDP stands at this level, the envisaged increase in products will amount to 0.8 percent in the industrial sector and 0.2 percent in the agricultural sector. This will be achieved due to structural changes and the introduction of modern technologies.

Investments will be made primarily in priority sectors such as light and food industries, science-intensive production, machine-building, metallurgy, and the chemical industry.

Agriculture Ministry Expects Food Production Drop

LD0612161795 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1257 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KIEV, Dec 6 (Interfax) — Food production in Ukraine, one of the major food suppliers in the former Soviet Union, is expected to drop in 1995, according to the Ukrainian Ministry of Agriculture and Food.

Ukraine will produce 3.4 million tonnes of meat (0.7 million tonnes less than in 1994), 17 million tonnes of milk (1.1 million) and 9.5 billion eggs (0.7 billion).

The ministry said that over the first ten months of the year, collective and state farms sold 1.4 million tonnes of cattle and poultry live weight (almost 0.5 million

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tonnes less than over the same period last year), 8.3 million tonnes of milk (1.4 million tonnes) and 3.5 billion eggs (0.4 billion).

The sale of cattle and poultry to procurement organizations dropped by 664,000 tonnes over last year (937,000 tonnes in 1995), milk by 2 million tonnes (5.5. million tonnes) and eggs by 553 million (1.8 billion).

Specialists attribute the decrease not only to general production decline, but also to changes in the sales channels. For example, a certain amount of meat, milk and eggs was sold at marketplaces or in barter deals.

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Belarus

Lukashenka Writes to Russian Party Leaders; Hryb Reacts

LD0612183495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1657 GMT 6 Dec 95

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] On the eve of the December 17 parliamentary elections in Russia, Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka thought it his duty to send a letter on his vision of Russian-Belarusian relations to the leaders of Russia's 15 major parties and movements.

"There does not exist an alternative to rapprochement of the two brother nations, Russia and Belarus, because both Russian and Belarusian peoples have a single centuries-old history and one ethnic, cultural, spiritual and moral Slavic code," he remarked.

It is the Slavic roots that "pre-determine the future of our states and peoples and shape the strategy and tactics of building statehood and the vector of political will of statesmen and politicians," Lukashenka said.

"The unifying integration idea has become a dominant, specially recently, based on the common desire of both Russians and Belarusians to live in friendship and accord, share all difficulties of the temporary crisis like brothers and look into their traditionally common future with hope," he added.

It is impossible to deform the two peoples' need for unification because of the genetic essence of this phenomenon, Lukashenka said.

"Proceeding from this indisputable assumption, the political will of each and everyone who understands and shares the future of his motherland must be directed to implement the unifying idea," he underlined.

Lukashenka was concerned about "the many opponents to integration and an honest and open dialogue between our peoples and the something they have succeeded in." "Using some politicians and media, Belarus where 10 million people live is represented as an undeveloped and undemocratic republic, and its popularly elected president as a dictator. These gentlemen do not want to understand that at last May's referendum the people of this country regained its dear symbols, equalized the statuses of Russian and Belarusian and reiterated its love and good feelings towards the Russian people," he continued.

"The madness of these politickers and journalists has reached such degrees that they try to catch me, born in the Belarusian province and absorbed all the tragedy of my people, from the Nazi genocide to the Chernobyl accident, on sympathies of Hitlerism, the plague of the XX century," he emphasized.

According to Lukashenka, "the goal of such in fact wild actions is quite comprehensible, to block the unification in any way possible and direct the election campaigns both in Russia and Belarus to a chaotic, uncontrolled path." He assured he will do his best to prevent such developments.

Parliamentary Chairman Myecheslaw Hryb told a press conference in Minsk Wednesday that he could not understand the need for the presidential address to Russian politicians. None of them has a provision on unification with Belarus, he added. The presidential address is a "usual reminding" to the Russians to remember of such a country as Belarus on the election day, he concluded.

Hryb said he had appealed to the chairman of the Russian State TV and Radio Company, O[illegible] Poptsov, to let him address Belarusian citizens via the Russian TV channel. He wants to urge their participation in the second round of parliamentary elections on December 10.

The speaker told a news conference in Minsk he had to do so because the Belarusian national TV had denied his repeated requests for broadcast time.

IF Note: Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka had announced his intention to introduce a direct presidential rule if a new parliament is not elected.

According to the speaker, a meeting of the Belarusian cabinet board was held Tuesday to discuss a draft law on the introduction of a state of emergency in the republic.

Some Belarusian political forces want to break the second round of elections, the election day TV schedule being evidence of that, Hryb said. If the new parliament is not elected, the parliamentary presidium will most likely convoke a plenary session of parliament and self-dissolve "in order not to be responsible for a situation to which the law-makers bear no relation."

Hryb blamed President Lukashenka for possible-non-election of a new parliament, saying the latter misinformed the people that "the Supreme Soviet has been elected and will start working in December."

IF Note: It is necessary to elect 174 parliament members (two thirds of the parliament) to make the legislative body legal. The first round of by-elections elected 139 deputies on November 29.

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Speaker Hryb Seeks Broadcast Time From Russian TV

LD0612160195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1257 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MINSK, Dec 6 (Interfax - West) — Belarusian parliament Speaker Mechyslaw Hryb appealed to Chairman of the Russian State TV and Radio Company Oleg Poptsov on Wednesday with a request to address Belarusian citizens via the Russian TV channel. He wants to urge their participation in the second round of parliamentary elections on December 10.

The speaker told a news conference in Minsk he had to do this because the Belarusian national TV had denied him any broadcast time.

Some Belarusian political forces want to break the second round of elections, Hryb believes. If the new parliament is not elected, the parliament Presidium will dissolve the parliament "in order not to be responsible for a situation to which the law-makers bear no relation."

According to the speaker, a meeting of the Belarusian cabinet board was held Tuesday to discuss a draft law on the introduction of a state of emergency in the republic.

Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka had announced his intention to introduce a direct presidential rule if a new parliament is not elected.

It is necessary to elect 174 parliament members (two thirds of the parliament) to make the legislative body legal. The first round of repeated elections on November 29 elected 139 deputies.

Deputy PM Holds Talks With World Trade Organization

WS0612152395 Minsk BELAPAN in English 0827 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] An official Belarusian delegation has presented the Memorandum on the Trade Regime in the Republic of Belarus to the World Trade Organization. The leaders of the delegation - Deputy Prime Minister Leanid Sinitsyn and Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Mikhail Marynich - held consultations with representatives of the WTO Secretariat on the forthcoming negotiations on Belarus' joining the WTO. According to a source at the Belarusian Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, the Belarusian delegation will be an observer at a sitting of the WTO working group on the Russian Federation's accession. In Geneva the Belarusian delegation will also hold negotiations with representatives of the UN Conference on Trade and Development to discuss the subsequent trade and economic relations, and take part in the 44th session of the Committee on Trade Development of the UN Economic Commission for Europe.

Moldova

Smirnov: CIS Will Develop Into 'Political Union'

AU0612131695 Chisinau INFOTAG in English 1930 GMT 5 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tiraspol, December 5 (INFOTAG) — In due time, the CIS Economic Union will develop into a political union, believes Igor Smirnov, president of the separatist Dniester republic. "So far, Moldova is reluctant to form a full-bodied economic union with Russia, and it's her right. Russia's interests are present in Dniester, and these are economic, not political interests," Smirnov said in his interview with INFOTAG. He remarked that industrial enterprises on both sides of the Dniester receive raw materials and components from Russia, and "it is impossible to import material and energy resources from Russia without respecting its interests in the region." In his opinion, the United States needs Moldova "for some strategic purposes." As for the Western loans, whose overall sum has already exceeded $0.5 billion, "they also pursue their specific objectives." There is nothing surprising "that Moldova is striving for the Unites States, for the living standards in the two countries differ like earth and sky," he said. He believes, in order to create in Moldova such standards of living, the republic has to work very hard and build a highly developed economy, "and what is very essential — to preserve its right for the freedom of choice. I'm afraid, Moldova has already lost this right," Igor Smirnov stressed.

Snegur Interviewed; Discusses Russian Elections

AU0712103895 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2100 GMT 6 Dec 95

["Exclusive" interview with President Mircea Snegur by unidentified BASA-press reporter; place and date not given: "I Will Remain Faithful to the People"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chisinau 6/12/1995 (BASA-press) —

[Reporter] The writer Ion Druta seems to blame you for the absence of a team which could have capitalized the ideals of national rebirth and avoid "the turning off of lights in Moldova." Do you accept this accusation? What specifically has impeded you to create since 1991 an administration which would minimize the negative effects of the transition to a market economy?

[Snegur] I have no wish to comment on the so-called open letter written by Ion Druta to the Moldovan president. I am ready to analyze and discuss the constructive proposals of any citizen. But in this particular case,

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when they want my head, when I am threatened with death — what is there to talk about? Any comments are useless. I leave it on the writer's conscience.

[Reporter] Leaving the PDAM [Democratic Agrarian Party of Moldova], you suggested that the present ruling party disappointed you by its deviation to the left and boycotting the reforms. When you accepted the PDAM partnership, did you not see enough signs that sooner or later there will be disagreements between the party leaders? Were these differences so serious that the PDAM could not be reformed internally, all the more so, as you had agrarian deputies behind you, who later participated in the constitution of the PRCM [Party of Revival and Conciliation of Moldova]?

[Snegur] My adherence to the PDAM was a historic need, required by the imperative of consolidation of all forces in the society, intended to give people their dignity back. In other words, as a president I took this step hoping that the men of this nation will manage to overcome all dissensions and will not divide by the criteria who is more or less literate. There were the necessary prerequisites then. But a problem was invented — the problem of the right name of our language. It seemed though that it was solved. I remember that once Dumitru Motpan [PDAM president] and I were visiting the Falesti district and it took us a great deal of effort to explain to the people that our language is Romanian and we are Moldovans. Subsequently, that is what we put down in the Constitution drafted by the commission whose head I was. But what happened later? Time came when this matter had to be discussed in Parliament, which had set up another commission to draft the Constitution. With the hope to be heard, I gave an interview to the FREE EUROPE RADIO telling them that I speak Romanian. The response was immediate. You already know that after long debates in the majority faction, the term Moldovan language was voted for. What was I to do in the situation when we were about to be admitted to the Council of Europe? Not to sign the decree on promulgation of the Constitution? I tried to stay cool and promulgated the Constitution. Otherwise, all our efforts could have been made in vain. Moreover, we were running the risk to have an undesired referendum. As time passed by, the situation was getting worse. Changes were made to the Land Code which made international financial organizations raise questions. The split-up was imminent. In addition, administrative purges were performed by party criteria. For the same reasons a lot of people got fired. This determined me to tell the PDAM leaders that they are wrong and are trying to eliminate intellectuals from democratization, and that they do not listen to the opposition. But in vain. Some PDAM members imagined that the Moldovan president should be a merely symbolic figure. But it will not happen like that. Whoever will win the future elections, I will remain faithful to the people who knelt in the Marii Adunari Nationale Square asking us to help them to obtain freedom. Freedom to be the master of their own future.

[Reporter] Given the increasing popularity of leftist forces across the post-socialist space, to what extent will the centrist PRCM assimilate such opinions in the context of its intention to come to power soon? What will be the common views with the other extreme, which as a rule is seen as unionist [seeking union with Romania]?

[Snegur] The PRCM has initiated consultations with all political formations. Depending on these results I will give you a comprehensive answer to this question. For the time being, I can tell you this: We will cooperate with all those who favor Moldova's independence, its territorial integrity and, not the least, democratic and economic reforms, whose purpose is integration within European organs.

[Reporter] The team of presidential advisers comprised certain leaders of the Social-Democratic Party. Does it mean that the PRCM leader, Mircea Snegur, is an advocate of social-democracy? What will be the classic definition of the party you head?

[Snegur] There were among presidential advisers some who are now leaders of other political parties. As a president, I chose my team by the criteria of professionalism, as well as their capacity to undertake tasks resulting from the priorities of the moment, strategy, and tactics which have to be implemented with the view of respecting the president's electoral platform. From my viewpoint, the promoted political line does not digress much from the social-democratic doctrine. The classic definition of the PRCM could be the following: It is a centrist party, whose objective is to create conditions so that all citizens, regardless of their nationality, age, or religion will be able to become active participants in the country's well-being, an objective that may be attained through a presidential republic with a two-chamber parliament.

[Reporter] You have often suggested that the eastern Moldovan population should follow its way to conciliation and eventually replace the current non-conciliatory leaders. Tiraspol authorities, in their turn, say that they hold the mandate given by the majority, and they intend to fortify it with the help of the next plebiscite scheduled for 24 December. Which is in President Snegur's opinion the solution to this "deadlock" situation?

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[Snegur] The situation is not one to be called "a deadlock," as long as the so-called elections in the Dniester region are held with the help of guns, when the so-called plebiscites are declared unconstitutional and they are not monitored by international observers. As to the people, I am absolutely sure they want to live in an integral republic and they oppose the disrespect for political, economic, and spiritual rights of which they are deprived. I reiterate: We have information that confirm this. I have talked about this at most prestigious forums and you are well aware of the fact that international public opinion welcomes the political methods we use to remove differences. At our request, an OSCE [Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe] Mission is operating in Moldova, which tries to make Tiraspol leaders understand that there is some order in this world and there are international documents that have to be respected, however big is their wish to create a state within another state. The current leadership, who holds the initiative of starting the dialogue, made some compromise proposals, which do not garner objections and are welcomed by international organizations. Anyway, eventually, this problem will be solved, and the population in this territory will be able to express its option freely without fear. Moldovan officials will continue their policy of nearing the population of both banks of the Dniester River.

[Reporter] In the context of the recent Russian State Duma resolution, you have made positive statements concerning Yeltsin and Chernomyrdin, which means that you will further rely on Moscow's political and economic support. However, the democrats Yeltsin and Chernomyrdin did not manage to have either the basic treaty ratified or the Russian troops withdrawn from Dniester, or to calm down the Dniester leaders.

[Snegur] No doubt, political evolutions in Russia have repercussions on Moldova's eastern districts. But the Tiraspol leaders rely on the State Duma. I would like to say in this context that it is extremely important that the democrats win the upcoming elections in Russia if we want these problems solved. Of course, in such a situation, the relations will be back on the normal track much sooner. Unfortunately, the illness of Russian President Boris Yeltsin made our meeting impossible, which could have eliminated many questions. But the answer provided by President Boris Yeltsin to my message after the Russian State Duma made its resolution leaves room for hope that the Russian electorate will make the right choice.

Moldova Opposed to Russian Consulate in Dniester

LD0612175795 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1716 GMT 6 Dec 95

[By Viktor Demidetskiy]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] CHISINAU, December 6 (Itar-Tass) — Moldova has resolutely opposed plans to open a Russian Consulate in its self-style Dniester region.

"There is no question of opening a Russian consulate on the territory of the Dniester region, which is not completely under control of Moldova's authorities, since this contradicts norms of international law," Petru Daskel, Moldovan President Mircea Snegur's aide on foreign policy matters, told reporters on Wednesday.

The aide branded Russia's request to open a consulate in the Dniester region as "inadmissible."

Moscow believes the consulate would be of help to Russian citizens in the region, protecting their rights and interests.

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Kazakhstan

Caspian Oil Consortium Shows Good Progress

LD0612171295 Almaty PANORAMA in Russian 2 Dec 95 p 3

[Interview with Dzakyl Marabayev, director general, and Georgio Taronna, deputy to the director general, of the Kazakhstankaspiyshelf Consortium by an unidentified INTERFAX NEWS correspondent for PANORAMA — date and place not given]

[FBIS Translated Text] [PANORAMA] The Kazakhstankaspiyshelf Consortium has been carrying out prospecting work for two years on the Caspian shelf. What stage is it at now?

[Marabayev] The consortium is now at an important stage of its work. We have actually completed the first phase of geophysical research work and are processing the data we are getting from the field. We do not have the final figures from our seismic prospecting program but I can assure you that we have covered approximately 17,000 km in the Caspian sea.

We can say that the entire program scheduled by the consortium for this year has been completed. There has been progress in the field of our main activities. Our technical program is being implemented ahead of schedule and we have made cash savings thanks to good planning. We intend to coordinate and approve a program for the next year soon.

[Taronna] I want to confirm that we have already implemented our geophysical program, which is tied to our ecological monitoring tasks. The consortium has a very serious approach to ecological problems and marine work in the Caspian Sea.

[PANORAMA] Could you explain what progress has been made exactly in the sphere of your main activity?

[Taronna] It's in terms of the km the seismic prospectors have covered in accordance with the program agreed by all participants in the consortium.

Agip, British Gas, the British Petroleum and Statoil Alliance, Kazakhstankaspiyshelf, Mobil, Shell, and Total are members of the consortium.

At present we are completing this work successfully. One of the reasons why we cannot give the overall km figure covered by seismic prospectors is that we have finished work only in two sections out of the planned three. I can say that we have finished the program for the transition [perekhodnyy] and shallow water zones but we are still prospecting in the deepwater zone and expect to finish in 10 days.

We are also implementing some important additional programs, including an educational one, because the main goal of the consortium is to ensure integration and fast development of the management skills and technological knowledge of the company's employees involved in marine operations.

[Marabayev] In this context we are happy to say that we are involved in a program which covers about 30,000 km, about 100,000 cubic km, of the Kazakh sector of the Caspian sea.

Georgio Taronna has already mentioned that we are carrying out serious work to train cadres in various fields. This is aimed at giving Kazakhstan an opportunity to have a sufficient number of well-trained specialists after the consortium has finished its work. I imagine that more than 300 people will be trained in various branches by the end of the three years of work. In addition to this, we are training specialists from other bodies like the Ministry of Ecology and Biological Resources, the Ministry of Geology and Protection of Natural Resources, the Ministry of Oil and Gas Industry and others.

Jointly with various institutions we are preparing broad foundations for marine work and this is quite new for Kazakhstan. We are paying a lot of attention to the program for social infrastructure projects, which is being financed entirely by Western participants and implemented by the state Kazakhstankaspiyshelf Company. I can tell you some of them: A water bottling plant; a kidney machine for Atyrau Region; construction and installation of water distilling equipment; and the opening ceremony of the reconstructed runway at the Aktau Airport will take place on 11 December. Another social infrastructure project is a factory breeding sturgeon in Atyrau, which is our pride.

At present, we are considering other social projects for implementation in the future. The living standards of people who are involved in consortium activities in one way or another have already been considerably improved.

We are sure that the complex program envisaged in the agreement on the consortium will be completed in time and will fully satisfy the Republic of Kazakhstan.

[PANORAMA] What is Kazakhstankaspiyshelf's reaction to the fact that Russia's LUKoil company intends to enter the consortium?

[Marabayev] I cannot talk about this, because I have no information, unfortunately. Maybe this is to do with future plans of LUKoil which we know nothing about. I think even my colleagues are not able to comment on this sort of affirmation [LUKoil's intention].

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[PANORAMA] The issue of the Caspian's status is not resolved yet. Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan have disagreements with Russia on this. How does this reflect on the activity of the consortium?

[Taronna] This is a political question and is a concern of the government. Moreover, we are a body which is engaged in carrying out prospecting work. That is why we do not participate in the talks.

[Marabayev] The government has given the consortium guarantees that the problems will be solved. If this is not the case, and these things have a significant effect on foreign investors or stop their work, then the Kazakhstan Government must implement the financial obligations it has taken upon itself before the members of the consortium.

We cannot give a detailed commentary on the issue of the status of the Caspian Sea, since we are not engaged in political issues.

Interim Trade Agreement Signed With EU

LD0612172995 Almaty Kazakh Radio First Program Network in Russian 0700 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A temporary agreement on trade and issues relating to it has been signed between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the European Union in Brussels. This important document enables Kazakhstan to start implementing the trade and economic paragraphs of the agreement on partnership and cooperation with the European Union, which was reached earlier.

A protocol on joint action on customs issues between the two sides' administrative bodies has also been signed. In addition, a number of declarations, including on protecting intellectual, industrial, and commercial property, have been adopted. A list of conventions on protecting copyright in the fields of literature, art, and photography, and on mutual provision of the most favorable conditions in the field of protecting copyright, which Kazakhstan is to join in the next five years, has also been approved.

The agreement on trade that was signed involves accords on mutual provision of the most favorable conditions for trade and defines regulations on antidumping measures, payments, competition, and other aspects of trade and economic cooperation.

The main principle the European Union and Kazakhstan have adopted is the market principle.

The signing of this temporary agreement is Kazakhstan's first step to integration into the European economic space.

President Meets Chechen Government Head Zavgayev

LD0612200795 Almaty Kazakh Television First Program Network in Russian 1500 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev left for Taldy-Kurgan region on a working visit today, and in the morning he received Doku Zavgayev, head of the Chechen government, who arrived in Almaty at the instruction [as heard] of the Russian president.

[Unidentified correspondent] [passage omitted]

[Begin Nazarbayev recording] The self-determination of a nation must not happen through bloodshed. The territorial integrity of every state recognized by the world community must be preserved — its territorial integrity and borders. So, we in Kazakhstan flatly reject any kind of separatism. Moreover, I have always supported Russia's territorial integrity and Russia's unity, because we all need this huge and friendly neighbor.

I have always suffered greatly over what has happened in Chechnya, said that bloodshed — the deaths of ordinary people — should not happen there, and offered my services as a mediator, to help somehow, taking into account the fact that the Chechen people have a well-disposed and kindly attitude to Kazakhstan. According to data from different sources, the total losses are estimated at approximately $3 billion. We are interested in peace coming there. I support President Yeltsin's present policy of reaching calm there by peaceful means. We — and not only we, but all the Caspian states, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, and Azerbaijan — are interested in the establishment of peace in Groznyy, in Chechnya.

We want to transport our oil. We want to use Groznyy oil refinery so that they will make use of our oil. At this difficult moment we are ready to render help to restore Groznyy and its agriculture. We have agreed that a treaty [dogovor] of intent on the preparation of agreements on economic cooperation and on cooperation on oil refineries and on all other issues in cultural relations between Kazakhstan and the Chechen Republic will be signed between our economy ministries. Calm and the wisdom of the people must win, and there must be peace and creativity to raise children and build a state. [end recording]

[Begin Zavgayev recording] Of course, we are very grateful to the peoples of Kazakhstan, and specifically to the Kazakhs, for that sympathy for our fate. Unfortunately, our fate, the fate of the Chechen people, is not simple. From time to time we are driven into a

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national catastrophe. The present position of Nursultan Abishevich Nazarbayev is the key, the instrument, the civic position around which I believe we will manage to gather healthy forces bit by bit in our country, to unite our own people, to gather this scattered people together and to come closer to peace and civil accord and distance ourselves from the possibility of armed conflicts [words indistinct]. [end recording]

A news conference for journalists was held with the head of government of the Chechen Republic, Doku Zavgayev. As he said, the government delegation from Chechnya came here from Bishkek, where a protocol of intent was signed. They intend also to visit all the CIS republics and Middle Eastern countries where the Chechen diaspora live.

The journalists were concerned mainly about the problems of the present economic and political situation of the Chechen people, to which Doku Zavgayev replied that accord had been artificially destroyed in the republic. Chechnya is a fully fledged component [subyekt] of the Russian Federation with a specific status. Its political structure will be in line with the constitution of Russia, with the maximum degree of autonomy [samostoyatelnost]. The republic's economic potential is to be restored during new economic reforms. The main volume of restoration work will be completed in 1996.

One of the most painful issues is the problem of refugees. About 400,000 people have left Chechnya, 300,000 of them for Kazakhstan. How are they to be provided with housing and work? As the head of the Chechen government said, this issue was also touched upon during the talks with the Kazakh president.

The delegation from the Chechen Republic left for its homeland, Groznyy, today.

Chechen Leader on Economic Cooperation

LD0612170895 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1400 GMT 6 Dec 95

[from the "Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] Doku Zavgayev, head of government of the Chechen republic, has visited Kazakhstan, following his trip to Kyrgyzstan.

Nursultan Nazarbayev received him at his Almaty residence today. The talks, which lasted two hours, were held behind closed doors. Doku Zavgayev gave the president of Kazakhstan a personal message from Boris Yeltsin and informed Nazarbayev in detail about the measures being taken in Chechnya to reach peace and accord there.

In his turn, the president of Kazakhstan agreed that everything taking part in the Chechen republic is an internal affair of the Russian Federation and spoke against any forms of separatism in Russia.

A news conference was held following the talks. Doku Zavgayev spoke about the accords reached with the Kazakh side:

[Begin Zavgayev recording] We agreed to have economic cooperation, to broaden it, and to have Kazakhstan directly participate in restoring housing and welfare amenities and facilities, such as schools and hospitals, in restoring our industrial potential, and in developing the petroleum industry. [end recording]

[Correspondent] Doku Zavgayev said that Kazakhstan might deliver its raw materials to Groznyy's refineries once the domestic political situation in Chechnya has stabilized. According to the head of the Chechen government, talks on this are for the time being untenable, beyond a statement of intent.

Speaking of the forthcoming elections in Chechnya, Doku Zavgayev noted that real changes will hardly come after 17 December. However, a mechanism of power will, at long last, be set up in the republic.

Concerning his own candidacy, Zavgayev said:

[Begin Zavgayev recording] I am propelled by a moral duty and if I fail to be elected on 17 December, it will be no disaster to me and I will not stand aside [as heard]. [end recording]

Tajikistan

Government Protests to UN Over Opposition Border Attacks

LD0612175695 Dushanbe KHOVAR in Russian 1000 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] According to the information department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Tajikistan, in the light of incidents from 1 to 4 December 1995 in which armed militants of the irreconcilable Tajik opposition subjected the 12th border post of the Moskovskiy border detachment to shellfire from the territory of the Islamic State of Afghanistan, the Ministry of Security of the Republic of Tajikistan has sent a statement to Darko Silovic, the head of the UN observers' mission and the UN secretary general's deputy special envoy on Tajikistan, and Zafar Rahmonov, the co-chairman of the joint cease-fire commission for the opposition, which reads, in particular:

We draw your attention to the fact that, unfortunately, there has of late been no reaction from the opposition

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members of the joint commission to such incidents. The shelling of the 12th border post is another violation of the Tehran temporary cease-fire agreement by the opposition, who obviously do not desire a peaceful settlement of the intra-Tajik conflict or else are unable to control the actions of the armed formations that are subordinated to the jihad council.

While informing you of the above, we ask you to convey this to the UN secretary general and the Security Council for appropriate measures to be taken, as such acts are not conducive to positive consideration of issues at the intra-Tajik negotiations.

Opposition: Tavildara Situation Halts Talks

LD0512173095 Tehran IRNA in English 1705 GMT 5 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Dushanbe, Dec. 5, IRNA — The refusal of Tajik Government to send a team to southern Tajikistan to investigate situation in Tavildara, has brought the peace talks in Ashgabat, Turkmenistan to a standstill, delegate of Tajik opposition told IRNA here on Tuesday.

The delegate, Valizadeh told IRNA correspondent in Dushanbe, Tajik Government has refused to send a team comprising representatives of Tajik Government, the opposition and the United Nations special envoy to inspect the southern part of the country, Tavildara.

Tavildara, the stronghold of the opposition has been allegedly subjected to heavy attacks of government forces and Russian Army.

Valizadeh said the objection of Tajik Government has caused the opposition to refrain from direct talks with Tajik Government officials.

Meanwhile, negotiations of the two parties with the special envoy of the United Nations, Ramiro Piriz-Ballon as well as the representatives of the observer nations to the peace talks are underway to remove the obstacle.

The opposition insisted that the attacks of Russian Army and the government forces against their stronghold, Tavildara has not come to a halt.

A representative of Tajik Government said Tavildara lacks necessary security to send a team there. He said in the meantime that Tajik Defence Ministry has dispatched an envoy to the area so that the team will be allowed to visit Tavildara if the situation was assessed as appropriate.

In the past several weeks heavy clashes took place between the Islamic Tajik opposition and the government forces in Tavildara.

The neo-communist government of Dushanbe is backed by Moscow militarily.

Team To Stay in Ashgabat Until Deal With Opposition

LD0612183195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1657 GMT 6 Dec 95

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] President Emomali Rakhmanov has instructed the government delegation in peace talks with opposition leaders in Ashgabat to seek working out a final agreement because of seeing, unlike the opposition, the current round as the last one, Rakhmanov's spokesman Zafar Saidov told Interfax.

He said the government team would comply with presidential instructions and would not leave Ashgabat until a compromise was struck. The spokesman referred to Dushanbe's determination to seek a peaceful solution to the conflict and its readiness for compromise.

At the same time, Saidov spoke of Dushanbe's concern over a false start in the talks and the hardline opposition's stake on further fighting as a way of bringing pressure on the negotiating process. To make his case, he referred to the latest flare up of tension on the Afghan border with rebels firing a total of 197 rockets on a section guarded by the Moscow border guard unit. Saidov said Dushanbe had warned against any such action in future, let alone during the negotiating process. "The shelling of Russian outposts must be seen as an attempt to obstruct, let alone undermine the talks," he said. He said the latest incident had prompted Dushanbe's decision to lodge a protest with the head of UN observers in Tajikistan Darko Shilovic.

On the situation in Tavil-Dar region 280 kilometers east of Dushanbe and opposition demands for setting up an independent post of military observers there, Saidov said that under the Tehran accord, cease-fire monitoring was the job of the joint commission which has been operating in Dushanbe since early this year. He made it clear government troops were in control of the regional situation.

On Wednesday, UN observers and commission members went down to examine the situation in Tavil-Dar before reporting back to the negotiating teams in Ashgabat which means Dushanbe has complied with the opposition's demand for investigating the situation in the region in which a 250-strong rebel force has been entrenched for the second year now.

IF Note: Sources in Ashgabat said that during a telephone conversation between the presidents of

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Turkmenistan and Tajikistan on Tuesday, Rakhmonov promised to issue a written permit to allow the observer team into Tavil-Dar.

Opposition leader Akbar Turadzhonzoda told Interfax that "we will sit down at the negotiating table today if UN observers and opposition representatives reaffirm the fighting is over in Tavil-Dar."

For their part, government sources in Dushanbe told Interfax about the government's offer for the observer team to visit neighboring Shurobad region as well, a proposal that was finally accepted by the opposition team.

The UN mediator in the talks said the two sides would reconvene for further talks as soon as news about an end to the fighting in the two regions was reported back. He said separate consultations with the two sides, now several days long, was "part of the negotiating process, and a necessary one at that". He said the consultations had helped resolve procedural matters while the remaining technicalities posed no problem.

(However, Turadzhonzoda spoke of disagreeing with parts of the procedural agenda including a UN proposal for limited contacts with the press - IF).

On commission findings after an inquiry into the fighting incident in Tavil-Dar, the envoy said these would be reported back to the UN Secretary General and Security Council which will given their own assessment of what happened. He said the Security Council was due to meet on December 16 to consider whether or not to extend the observer mission's mandate for Tajikistan.

Russia has urged opposition leaders to renounce a military solution to the conflict and use the Ashgabat round for "serious political work," Russian Foreign Ministry representative Mikhail Demurin told a news briefing in Moscow on Tuesday.

He expressed serious concern that the Ashgabat round had started off amid a flare up of tension on the Afghan border caused by rebel actions.

Commander of Tajik border guards Aleksandr Rogov has spoken of mounting rebel strength on part of the border guarded by the Moscow border troop detachment.

In an interview with Interfax on Wednesday, he said the militants continued to infiltrate into Tajiksitan to carry out attacks at night and pull back before daybreak.

IF Note: Tajik border troops set up more than a year ago protect the country's border with Afghanistan together with their Russian counterparts.

Polling Stations Opened for Russian Voters

LD0712105295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0947 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] DUSHANBE, December 7 (Itar-Tass) - Fifteen polling stations have been set up in Tajikistan to enable 12,000 Russian citizens, who constantly live or are currently visiting the republic, to take part in the elections to the Russian State Duma lower house of parliament on December 17, a source in the Russian Embassy in Tajikistan told Itar-Tass.

Two of the polling stations will open for the Russian voters at the Russian diplomatic missions - the Embassy in Dushanbe and the consular office in the regional centre of Khodzhand.

Thirteen others will serve the Russian troops and their families at the posts on the Tajik-Afghan border and in the Russian army units stationed in Tajikistan.

The voters at some difficult-of-access border posts in the mountainous regions of the republic will be permitted to cast their ballots earlier than December 17.

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Georgia

Russian Official's Visit Intended To 'Sweeten' Relations

AU0612130295 Tbilisi REZONANSI in Georgian 30 Nov-1 Dec 95 p 1

[Report by Akaki Gogichaishvili: "A Russian Diplomat Is Trying To 'Sweeten' Russian-Georgian Relations"]

[FBIS Translated Text] As REZONANSI has stated, Vasiliy Vinogradov, head of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Consular Department, paid a working visit to Georgia on 28 November. During his visit, he held consultations with the heads of the foreign, justice, and internal affairs ministries and the commander of the Border Troops.

On 29 November, a protocol was signed on cooperation between the consular services of the two countries, as a result of which visa and passport control mechanisms within the CIS will be simplified; according to Article 6, "the sides will continue the practice of protecting the rights and interests of each other's citizens in third countries (outside the CIS) if one of the sides does not have a diplomatic representation in the state where the citizen is residing."

The same day, Vinogradov and Russian Ambassador Zemskiy held a press conference at which it was pointed out that a halt had been put to ships sailing under the Russian flag between Trebizond and Batumi. According to Vinogradov, the Russian leadership knew nothing about this fact before September of this year. Hamlet Chipashvili, head of the Georgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Visa Department, informed REZONANSI that the Georgian side had sent a protest note to the [corresponding] department in the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs concerning these ships. So, this statement by Vinogradov, on behalf of Russian officials, is yet another lie. We should probably find the reason behind it in what Vinogradov himself said: "During my visit, I have tried to sweeten Russian-Georgian relations into which some bitterness has crept of late."

Vinogradov stated that Russia does not recognize Abkhazian passports and allows citizens from Abkhazia to enter onto Russian territory in individual cases and only with the consent of the Georgian Embassy in Russia. When asked how Abkhazian "government" delegations travel abroad via Russia, Zemskiy stated that this occurred only after consent had been given by the Georgian side. However, Vinogradov added that such a thing had not yet happened in practice.

It was pointed out at the press conference that consultations were proceeding on the opening of a Russian consulate in Batumi and a Georgian consulate in St. Petersburg.

Russian Envoy Urges Ratification of Bases Accord

LD0612175095 Tbilisi IPRINDA in Russian 1415 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Tbilisi, 6 Dec — An agency correspondent reports that Georgian Parliament Chairman Zurab Zhvania received on 6 December Vladimir Zemskiy, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation to Georgia. According to Zemskiy, the Russian embassy has submitted to the Russian Duma an offer on an exchange of parliamentary delegations between the two countries after the Russian elections.

The Russian ambassador drew attention to the speeding up of the ratification of the agreement signed by Russia and Georgia. As 20 agreements of the total of 42 need to be promptly ratified, Zemskiy noted: "I think the global settlement of the Abkhaz issue is near at hand, and in this connection, it is significant that the ratification of the agreement on bases should be speeded up. Because the Georgian parliament is postponing this issue, many important problems remain unresolved," the ambassador added." Zurab Zhvania agreed with the Russian ambassador that the ratification of the agreement on bases should be speeded up.

UN Representative Briefs Shevardnadze on Abkhazia

LD0612155595 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1300 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Georgian President Eduard Shevardnadze today received Livio Bota, representative of the UN mission in Georgia. Bota briefed the president on current events in Abkhazia and the work carried out by the United Nations for the Georgian-Abkhaz conflict settlement. The president thanked Bota for his work and expressed the hope that by joint efforts the Abkhaz conflict will finally be resolved.

No Accord at Moscow Talks With Abkhazia

LD0612180995 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1734 GMT 6 Dec 95

[By Irina Shchegoleva]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] SOCHI, December 6 (Itar-Tass) - No mutually acceptable decisions were adopted at the Georgian-Abkhazian talks that ended in Moscow on Wednesday, Abkhazian parliament speaker Sokrat Dzhindzholiya said.

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Speaking at a press conference in Sukhumi today, Dzhindzholiya, who lead the Abkhazian delegation to the talks, said that "the Russian side presented both delegations with a draft protocol on the settlement of relations between Georgia and Abkhazia, which needs to be considered by the Abkhazian parliament."

"The document does not meet our interests because it proposes only a federation of which Abkhazia should be a part. Abkhazia's consent to sign the protocol of such content was not given," he said.

At the same time, he stressed that "I do not think that the talks have come to a deadlock" and expressed the hope that both sides are interested in their continuation.

Russian Troops' Mandate Set To Expire

LD0712121095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1104 GMT 7 Dec 95

[By Tengiz Pachkoria]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] TBILISI, December 7 (Itar-Tass) - The mandate for Russian peacekeeping forces in the zone of the Abkhazian conflict can be extended only if refugees begin to return to the area, a Georgian representative says.

Tamaz Nadareishvili, speaker of the Supreme Soviet of the autonomous republic of Abkhazia (the Georgian parliament of Abkhazia which has been functioning in Tbilisi after leaving the zone of the conflict in September 1993), told journalists that the mandate for the Russian peacekeeping forces in the zone of the Abkhazian conflict which expires on December 31, 1995, could be extended, in his opinion, only if the process of refugees' return to Abkhazia is really started in January 1996.

Nadareishvili believes that refugees should be returned to their hearths from tow directions — from the Zugdidi district to the Gali district, and from the side of the Russo-Georgian border along the Psou river to the area of the city of Gagra.

Nadareishvili believes that units of the Georgian Interior Ministry alongside Russian peacekeeping forces should assume the responsibility for ensuring safe return of refugees to Abkhazia and their safe living in native places.

He also said that the zone of the operation of Russian peacekeeping forces should comprise the entire Abkhazian territory — from the river Inguri to the river Psou (peacekeepers at present operate only in Abkhazia's Gali district).

Official Details Electric Power Situation in Country

AU0612165295 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 28 Nov 95 p 3

[Interview with Georgiy Makashvili, first deputy chairman of the "Sakenergo" (Georgian Energy) department, by SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA correspondent Galina Gotua; place and date not given: "Will There Be Electricity This Winter?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The winter has not yet arrived, but planned and completely unexpected and unpredictable power cuts have begun, which are plunging entire districts into darkness for hours on end and often paralyzing electric transport, the telephone network, and so forth. The reason for this recently was an act of sabotage, as a result of which a 500-kilovolt electricity transmission line was put out of operation.

How work was progressing on restoring the republic's power capacities and to what extent we are to be spared unpleasant surprises during the coming winter — these were the subjects about which a SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA correspondent spoke to Chief Engineer Georgiy Makashvili, first deputy chairman of the "Sakenergo" department.

[Makashvili] Power workers are taking measures to eliminate the consequences of the act of sabotage on the 500-kilovolt line.

Repair work is in full swing at the Tbilisi State Rayon Power Station. Power units number four and six have been completely repaired. Power unit number eight is ready to be put into operation and power unit number three will be operational by the end of November.

I would like to emphasize in particular that the government is not sparing any efforts in radically resolving the problems connected with the restoration and development of electric power in the republic. This can already be seen in the way it is actively attracting foreign investors and specialists to carry out restoration work.

With the assistance of the German government, the "KSW" Credit Institute has allocated Georgia a credit of 20 million German marks to carry out restoration work on the most powerful 300-megawatt power unit number nine. Turbines have already been installed here. They themselves were not damaged as a result of the fire, but the control mechanisms did suffer serious damage. Cable ducts and construction materials were delivered from Germany. Work is being carried out by Georgian workers and engineers under the supervision of German specialists from the "Siemens" firm. We are expecting other essential construction materials and computers to be flown in from Frankfurt. Repairmen and designers

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should arrive. The restoration work should be finished by 1 December.

A project has been prepared by the "BEA" firm for restoring the damaged heat insulation of power unit number nine and a tender has been made to carry out this work.

During the course of the winter, the Tbilisi State Rayon Power Station should consume 4 million cubic meters of gas. However, in order to purchase such a quantity, the population and enterprises have to pay off their electricity debts immediately. Working at full capacity, the Tbilisi State Rayon Power Station should produce approximately 10-12 million kwh of electric power every 24 hours. In order to ensure that the station is working continuously, 150 metric tonnes of fuel oil should be delivered from the United States and Europe.

[Gotua] In what state is the Tbilisi Thermal Power Plant?

[Makashvili] It is ready to go into operation. The Tbilisi city administration promises to supply it with gas. The plant will supply the central part of the city with electric power and hot water at a higher rate. Of course, schools, hospitals, and kindergartens will not be able to pay these bills. It wouldn't be bad if the bodies of local self-government took these expenses upon themselves.

[Gotua] What is the situation at the Inguri Hydroelectric Power Station? Has the Inguri reservoir been replenished?

[Makashvili] Final repair work is being conducted at the station. Power unit number five has been completely restored. However, on account of the elections, we had to make more active use of this station, which has led to a catastrophic consumption of water from the Inguri reservoir. The current water level is 13 meters below what it should be. This will be compensated for by a harsh economy in the use of the Inguri Hydroelectric Power Station this winter.

[Gotua] Are we receiving electric power from neighboring countries?

[Makashvili] Work is reaching completion on restoring the LEP- 500 "Kavkasioni" [high-voltage power transmission line] along which electric power will be transferred from Russia.

We are also receiving electric power from Turkey, but one should take into consideration that we will have to return it in summer at a ratio of 1.8 to 1. Naturally, this is not to our advantage.

[Gotua] Incidentally, how do things stand regarding payment for electric power?

[Makashvili] The whole world has realized long ago that electric power is a commodity for which one has to pay. "Sakenergo's" debts amount to a colossal sum. There exists only one mechanism that can force recalcitrant debtors to pay what they owe, namely disconnection. We can welcome the decision of the head of state to form an emergency energy commission that is entrusted with serious powers to impose the strictest discipline as far as payment is concerned and ensure that the appropriate sums are obtained for the amount of electric power consumed.

Edict To Overcome Financial Crisis at Georgian Power

LD0612173895 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1300 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Georgian President Eduard Shevardnadze today issued an edict on the implementation of emergency measures to overcome the current complex financial situation at the Sakenergo [Georgian power] Department.

The edict says the following: Two key documents are to be adopted in order to overcome a complex financial situation at the Sakenergo Department — a. the 5 July and 5 October edicts issued by the Georgian head of state; b. the emergency power and engineering commission is to start work as the situation still remains very complex — a larger part of the cost for the consumed power is still unpaid and this poses a realistic danger to the functioning of the power system, and subsequently, to power supplies to the population.

The edict entrusts heads of the regional administrations, mayors of towns, chairmen of rayon administrations, heads of the municipal power companies, enterprises, and organizations to increase their personal responsibility to implement the adopted edicts.

The Georgian Control Chamber has been entrusted to monitor systematically the implementation of the above edicts and the decisions by the emergency commission. [passage omitted]

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Estonia

Premier Discusses Russian-Speakers With OSCE Envoy

WS0712095795 Tallinn BNS in English 1809 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tallinn, Dec 6, BNS — Estonian Prime Minister Tiit Vahi on Wednesday met with Herbert Grubmayr, the newly appointed head of the OSCE mission to Estonia, over the problems of Russian-speakers in this Baltic country.

The topics discussed included passports and IDs for aliens, temporary travel documents for non-citizens, a government spokesman told BNS.

Vahi said issuing of documents was complicated by the fact that the country's authorities still hadn't exact information on the non- citizens living in Estonia.

Also discussed were issues concerning the retired Russian military in Estonia.

The prime minister said that Estonia as a democratic country recognized the right of the people living here to freely decide about their future.

The OSCE mission head asked about the ratification of the Estonian-Russian treaties on Russian troop withdrawal and on social guarantees for retired Russian military.

Vahi in his answer said that if the presidents of the two countries had signed the treaties, the Estonian parliament has to ratify them.

Both parties at the meeting said the issue of the border between Estonia and Russia needed to be resolved as quickly as possible. Vahi said a border agreement could only be based on the Tartu peace treaty of 1920, the government press office reported.

Vahi Denies Knowledge of Plans for Defense Union

LD0612185595 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1657 GMT 6 Dec 95

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature: compiled by Anna Kovalyova, Nikolay Zherebtsov, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Boris Yunanov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Prime Minister Tiit Vahi in an interview with Interfax has denied any knowledge about former Estonian military commander Aleksandr Einseln's intention to put forward an initiative for creating a Baltic Defense Union.

IF Note: General Einseln at a meeting with his Baltic counterparts in the Latvian resort town of Jurmala last week offered to set up a military alliance of the Baltic states. He said none of them was militarily strong and that's why mutual assistance was needed in critical situations. Einseln said the absence of a military cooperation agreement had helped towards Soviet annexation of the three states in 1939.

President Lennart Meri accepted the general's tender of resignation on Sunday.

Vahi spoke of seeing the Jurmala meeting as just another step on the way of widening regional cooperation in areas of security and defense.

He said Einseln had warned him about planning a trip to Jurmala but "made no mention of wanting to unveil the union initiative."

The prime minister said the union question should not have been discussed at Jurmala.

Vahi said the three sides must first agree on a common charter, cooperation principles and other measures before the basis of such a union was determined, but "nothing of this has been done yet."

He said no draft was available to serve as a basis for discussion and therefore, "we cannot speak of Estonia's possible adherence to such a union."

The defense union idea was supported by a recent session of the Baltic Assembly in Tallinn which recommended the governments of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia take measures for legislative changes for greater cooperation in defense and security matters little short of creating regional structures to coordinate activities by the Baltic armies.

Latvian President Guntis Ulmanis also backed up the idea, his press office said.

In the meantime, Vice Speaker of the Estonian Parliament Arnold Ryutel in an interview with Interfax said the question was not one of establishing a common military system by the three states. "We are forming a Baltic peacekeeping force and there is no need for a new military organization," he said.

Ryutel said the three states were planning to set up a common body to help widen cooperation in control of the common air space and sea borders and standardization of weapons and communications systems and so on.

Lithuanian Defense Chief Linas Linkyavicicus in an earlier interview with Interfax said the creation of a common defense union was not "a priority Lithuania is seeking."

He said the country's strategic goal was to join NATO and Vilnius would be working hard to achieve just that.

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He made it clear the military cooperation with Latvia and Estonia must be intensified within the framework of the tripartite deal between the three countries' defense departments.

IF Note: In the meantime, Moscow expressed surprise over the Baltic Assembly's resolution for regional defense cooperation. In an interview with Interfax, Russian foreign ministry representative Mikhail Demurin said that at a time when European countries were working together to try to shape future European security structures, the Balts were busy seeking external threats and enemies without.

Latvia

Proposed Government Outlines Major Policy Plans

LD0612145695 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1401 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Ziedonis Cevers's [proposed] government considers moving toward a deficit-free budget as being the most important issue of the financial policy. In order to reduce the budget deficit, the government will introduce a regime of tough spending controls on the spending part of the budget and reduce spending on state institutions.

In the sphere of social policy, the government is preparing to approve and publish a subsistence minimum based on reality and to introduce indexation of minimum wages, pensions, and other benefits in line with the increase in the cost of living.

On the other hand, as regards foreign policy, the government is preparing to carry out active diplomatic activity to obtain security guarantees in the form of bilateral and multilateral agreements with the United States, Russia, and NATO, before Latvia possibly joins the EU and NATO. The government hopes to achieve Russian recognition of Latvia's occupation and that the problem of Abrene [former Latvian town now in l Region of Russia called Pytalovo] will be settled at an international level.

Prime Minister Submits New Cabinet List to Parliament

LD0612205495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1911 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] RIGA, Dec 6 (Interfax) — Ziedonis Cevers, instructed by the Latvian president to form a government as prime minister, on Wednesday submitted the list of government members and the declaration of the government to the parliament presidium.

Earlier attempts to form a government following the October 1 parliamentary elections failed to win the approval of the Seim.

The vote on the approval of the new government is expected to be held at tomorrow's plenary session of Latvian parliament.

The government consists of 13 ministers representing the National Reconciliation Bloc which includes the Saimnieks Democratic Party led by Cevers, For Latvia movement, Party of the Latvian Unity and the Popular Accord Party. Leaders of parties forming the National Bloc (To Fatherland and the Freedom, Movement for National Independence of Latvia, Peasants' Union) and of the former ruling party Latvian Way rejected Cevers's proposal to include their representatives in the government.

Most ministers of the new government represent Saimnieks.

Odisejs Koctanda has been named defense minister, Janis Jurkans — foreign minister, Ernests Jurkans — economics minister, Aivars Kreituss — finance minister, Dainis Turlais — interior minister, Ivars Kezbers — minister at large and for the Baltic and the European Union.

The declaration says that the government will be "professional." Its main goal is to achieve the "prosperity of every person." The government plans to introduce a national "austerity regime" in order to reduce the budget deficit. It also plans to launch a crackdown on crime.

As for the foreign policy, the government plans to receive security guarantees by signing treaties with the United States, Russia and NATO, while Latvia has not joined NATO and the European Union.

The government intends to work on the improvement of relations with Russia and simultaneously seek Russia's recognition of the fact that Latvia was occupied by the Soviet Union in 1940.

Cevers Asks Saeima To Postpone Vote on Government

LD0712101795 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0903 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At the beginning of the Saeima plenary session, the candidate for the post of prime minister, Ziedonis Cevers, recalled the request he had made earlier that the issue of approving the government he has formed be included on the agenda as the first one after announcements of the presidium. At the beginning of the session, there were 99 deputies in the hall for plenary sessions of the Saeima. According

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to unofficial information, Andris Ameriks, a deputy from the People's Harmony Party and member of the presidium, is on his way from France to Latvia but has not managed to arrive in time for the beginning of the plenary session due to a flight delay. Ameriks has said that he would come to Saeima at 1200 [1000 GMT]. Therefore, debates on the first reading of a draft bill on the introduction of state monopoly on alcohol and alcoholic drinks which have resumed may get prolonged. After that, a vote on expressing confidence in the Cabinet of Ministers formed by Cevers will come as the last issue on the agenda of today's Saeima session.

Lithuania

Gylys on NATO Expansion, Peacekeeping Operations

LD0712133695 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1000 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At the meeting of foreign ministers of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council on Wednesday [6 December], Lithuanian Foreign Minister Povilas Gylys welcomed the decision by NATO to commence the second stage of the alliance's expansion. Gylys also said that Lithuania was interested in intensifying bilateral political consultations with NATO and expanding practical cooperation with the participants of the Partnership for Peace program, the information department of the Lithuanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs reported.

In Gylys' opinion, these initiatives will help Lithuania to undertake the commitments of a NATO member in the future. The minister also said that Lithuania is contributing to the NATO peace enforcement mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina and is offering one detachment of servicemen for this purpose.

On Tuesday, foreign ministers of NATO countries decided on commencing the second stage of NATO expansion, which will include consultations with the countries willing to join NATO, further expansion of the Partnership for Peace program and discussions on structural changes in NATO in preparation for the alliance's enlargement.

In 1996, Lithuania's priorities in cooperation with NATO will be the following: training of civil and military officers, setting up a system for airspace protection, strengthening the Baltic Battalion and practical bilateral and multilateral arrangements aimed at achieving the objectives of cooperation with NATO. Next year, Lithuanian servicemen will take part in 14 exercises of the Partnership for Peace program. Two of these exercises will be held on the Lithuanian territory: the U.S. and Lithuanian peacekeeping exercises called Amber Valley 96, and Lithuanian, Danish, and Polish exercises Amber Hope 96.

After conclusion of the foreign ministers meeting of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, Povilas Gylys took part in the meeting between the U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher with the foreign ministers of Central European countries.

Gylys Thanks U.S. Congressman for Baltic Support

WS0712095895 Tallinn BNS in English 1607 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vilnius, Dec 6, BNS — Lithuanian foreign minister Povilas Gylys in the name of the Lithuanian government expressed his thanks to US Congressman Richard Durbin for his concern with the security of the Baltic countries.

Durbin, who is of Lithuanian descent, initiated letters to President Bill Clinton and his advisor on national security issues Anthony Lake, signed by 42 members of the House of Representatives, in which they were urged to condemn harshly a new draft of a Russian military doctrine which represents a threat to the Baltic democracies.

In his letter sent off to representative Durbin on Wednesday, Gylys writes that Durbin's assessment of the new draft of the Russian military doctrine conforms to Lithuania's interests and to its firm intention to seek integration into Western structures.

"This draft military doctrine represents a danger not only to the independence of the Baltic countries but to European stability as a whole," the minister's letter read.

The American representatives' letters to Clinton and Lake expressed concern with reports that the general staff of Russia's armed forces was discussing a new military doctrine which foresees an invasion of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, were these countries to become members of NATO.

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